The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 10, 1899.

The Week.

The Republicans of Iowa, in their State Convention on Wednesday of last week, pronounced an encomium on the Gold Democrats. "As Republicans," they said, "we make recognition of the loyalty and exalted patriotism of the Sound-Money Democrats, and men of all parties, who put aside partisanship in order to maintain the good faith of the nation, and, in resistance to the Chicago platform and its candidate, to secure the welfare of the people." Signs are not wanting in other quarters that the attitude of the Democrats who supported Palmer and Buckner in 1896, and of those who voted directly for McKinley in order to make their votes "count double" against Bryan, is becoming a matter of much interest among the Republicans. In proportion as the latter grow uneasy respecting their position on expansion and the war in the Philippines, they are inclined to fall back on the Gold Standard and make that issue once more the chief stone of the corner. On the other hand, the Bryanites, thinking that they see victory within reach on other issues than that of "16 to 1," are taking steps to win the Gold Democrats back to their old allegiance.

Fortunately for such an effort, as regards domestic policy, the things which the McKinley Administration is most concerned about have been those most calculated to offend its Democratic and independent allies. It passed a most offensive tariff bill, the details of which gave rise to the suspicion that it was part of a preëlection bargain for which cash had been paid into the campaign fund. In the interest of spoilsmen, it reversed the policy of civil-service reform—in defiance and contradiction of its own national platform—a policy which had received the sanction and support of every other Administration, Republican or Democratic, for fifteen years. Moreover, as regards the one issue which led the Gold Democrats and the Independents to give their aid to the Republicans directly or indirectly (the establishment of the gold standard), they have as yet done nothing, and it is still uncertain what they will do if anything. It is true that they have not hitherto had control of the Senate. They could not have passed any measure through that branch of Congress, but, in fact, they did not make any attempt to pass anything, not even the slight measures looking to the maintenance of the gold standard which President McKinley himself recommended. They gave no sign of interest in the subject until it dawned upon them a few months ago that they might want the votes of their gold allies next year, especially since their policy of expansion and war against the Filipinos had not been an unmixed success. Added to these acts of omission and commission, which are sins in the eyes of nearly all of their allies of 1896, they are now talking of a new ship-subsidy bill, to enable another lot of rich men to get their hands into the public treasury. Such a measure would alone repel four-fifths of the Palmer and Buckner Democrats and of the Independents who supported McKinley in 1896.

The Iowa Republican platform dodges the whole question of civil-service reform and of the President's action regarding it. It does not commend Mr. McKinley's "backward step," as did the Kentucky Republican platform, but simply ignores the subject, while holding him up in general terms as a pattern of wisdom and discretion. This was the easier in Iowa because the Republican politicians of that State have never professed much interest in the reform, and nothing was said about it in the resolutions adopted when Gov. Shaw was first nominated. The real struggle for the platform-makers will come in such States as Massachusetts, where heretofore there has been sincere support of the reform. In the convention of 1897, for instance, the Massachusetts Republicans congratulated the country upon the fact that "we see a Republican President, under severe pressure for place, not merely maintaining, but wisely extending, the merit system in our civil service." What shall be said in 1899, when the same President has yielded to this "pressure" and dealt a staggering blow at the merit system? The embarrassment of this situation is going to increase as the time for the Republican national convention of next year approaches. Heretofore, ever since the civil-service act of 1883 was passed, the Republican party has declared its belief in the reform, advocated the extension of its scope, "pointed with pride" to the record of the party in championing the merit system, and "viewed with alarm" the prospect of intrusting it to the hostile hands of the Democrats. What is going to be done in 1900? It will be ridiculous to promise support of the reform and extension of its operations if the candidate for President shall be the man who has let down the bars in 1899. It will not do to endorse the backward step. It will be humiliating to ignore the question.

Gen. Alger's victorious home-coming must have made the air at Lake Champlain seem decidedly chillier to the President. There was, of course, a good deal of the "favorite son" and "distinguished citizen" in the enthusiasm at Detroit. This proud and jealous local sentiment is something that we in Eastern cities find it hard to comprehend. In the West, citizens of all parties and creeds will turn out to do honor to a fellow-townsman who has won distinction of any kind—most of all, political distinction. But while pride of locality undoubtedly had much to do with the demonstrations over Alger, resentment at President McKinley's subterranean way of getting rid of his Secretary of War, when he found it inconvenient any longer to carry him, was also clearly ablaze in all the proceedings. It was not only Gov. Pingree who spoke of the President's "insult to the State," and of the "conspiracy" to which he had lent himself. The Mayor of Detroit referred pointedly to the fact that the great outpouring of the people signified their "love of justice and fair play." Who had been guilty of injustice and underhand methods? Why, of course, the gentleman in the White House who had weakly yielded to "slander." With all Michigan cheering Alger, and prominent Republicans sending checks to the reception committee as an expression of their "contempt for McKinley," the bewildered sojourner at Lake Champlain must have asked where the political profit he expected to reap from dismissing Alger is coming in.

One of the many faults in the administration of the War Department to which Mr. Alger made no reference in his public apologia, he quietly corrected on the very eve of his retirement. We refer to his rehabilitation of the Inspector-General's department. This had been all torn to pieces during the war. Though presided over by one of the most accomplished officers in the army, his functions and powers were so curtailed that his work was practically reduced to a nullity. The testimony given before the War Investigating Commission showed how this essential service—army inspection—had been broken down and ruined by Alger's orders affecting it. To this fact were partly due the enormous scandals of the military camps and the transports from Santiago. Now, Inspector-General Breckinridge has secured a restoration of the department to its old status and usefulness, with the distinct understanding, in addition, that army transports shall be subject to his inspection. It was gravely stated in the official bulletin announcing the change, that it was owing to "the exigencies of the war" that "certain duties" had been taken away from the Inspector-General's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

department which were now given it again. This is an excuse which condemns. When, if not during the exigencies of war, is the safeguard of rigid inspection most necessary?

Light is gradually dawning on the Tallulah lynching case. According to the latest information, Dr. Hodge, for assaulting whom five Italians were lynched by the inhabitants of the town, was able to walk home from the scene of the assault, and has not been good enough to die in consequence of his wounds. It is pretty well established, also, that three of the five men lynched were Italian subjects, and, therefore, entitled to whatever protection the kingdom of Italy can give them. The provocation to the lynching and the justification of it are supplied in a rather remarkable article in the *Daily States*, which is styled the "official journal of the city of New Orleans," from which it appears that the doctor's assailants ought to be thankful that they were not burned alive. The *States* not only defends the lynching, but defies the federal Government, and tells Italy to "go to hell." The language it employs must raise the inquiry in all civilized communities, what kind of catastrophe a State or community which tolerates such ideas, expressed in such brutal terms, is rushing forward to.

That Gov. Candler of Georgia can express sound ideas on the subject of lynching was shown early last week, when he issued an appeal to the people of the State, declaring that they "must away with the mob; must reënthrone the law." In this proclamation he urged all officers of the State to do their duty in bringing to justice violators of the law, "whether it be the negro who commits rape, or the white man who kills him for his crime"; all lawyers to exert their influence in discountenancing mob rule, and aiding the courts in bringing accused parties to speedy trial; and all good men to coöperate with the officers of the law in their efforts to prevent crime and suppress mob violence. Two days later the Governor showed that he can act as well as he can write. A negro who had attempted a criminal assault in Coweta County, and had been lodged in jail, was in danger of being lynched. The Governor instructed the Sheriff to organize a posse, arm his men, and protect the prisoner at all hazards; when the excitement continued to increase, he ordered out a company of militia, finally he went himself to the scene of trouble, took personal command of the situation, and brought the prisoner under a strong guard to Atlanta, where there is no danger of violence. If every Governor will treat every case of threatened lynching in this fashion, the practice will soon be effectually checked.

The censor at Manila ought to keep from the natives the statement which Gov. Bradley of Kentucky has just issued, explaining why he does not maintain order in the mountain regions of that State. The substance of it all is that the executive cannot accomplish anything under existing laws to put an end to the terrible feuds which prevail, and that the legislators will not pass any laws which would be more effective. This is one of the most extraordinary confessions ever put forth by the head of a community which professes to be civilized. Kentucky is one of the oldest States in the Union, but its Governor admits that he is powerless to stop the reign of lawlessness over whole counties. Outsiders may not be qualified to decide whether Gov. Bradley is right or wrong in saying that he has done all that any executive could do under the conditions which exist, but every American must feel a sense of shame when such a revelation is made as to any portion of the Union, at a time when our nation has sallied forth to "enforce law and order" in distant parts of the world.

No wonder that the Manila censorship refused to let through the dispatch which came on Tuesday by way of Hong Kong. It records one of the most shameful horrors of our shameful war in the Philippines. A town of which the residents supposed they were under a guarantee of American protection, was suddenly shelled without warning by the commander of one of our gunboats. One child was killed, buildings were destroyed, and the terrified inhabitants fled to the hills, doubtless with new love for their American liberators. Such an act —the shelling of an unfortified town without notice—is contrary to the laws of war. If we were making war against a civilized nation, the civilized world would exclaim in horror at our barbarism in doing such things. But as it is only "niggers" whom we are trying to assimilate, no protests will be heard. But why are no steps taken to end such atrocities? The dispatch says "the authorities express great regret" at the occurrence. But why did they try to keep from us all knowledge of it? And what is the Christian gentleman at Point Bluff doing to put an end to a situation which is bringing disgrace upon the American name and civilization?

To say that American citizens feel direct personal responsibility for the admistration of the affairs of Samoa would be so grotesque a perversion of the truth as to bring a smile to the face of the most serious expansionist. Taking the country through, it is doubtful if half of its inhabitants know anything of Samoa but its name, and most of the remainder could not find it on the map if they cared enough about the matter to look. Lovers of Stevenson alone, we might say, have any understanding of the nature of the controversies in which our Government has taken part, and they certainly feel no responsibility for the slaughter of the natives committed by our forces. Outside of Stevenson's readers, we should be surprised to learn that a hundred American citizens could be found who would conscientiously assert that they knew enough about Samoan affairs to favor any measure for which they could be held responsible. The whole business is in the hands of Government officials, and they are unmoved by public opinion, because there is and can be no intelligent public opinion in so great a country as this, concerning such remote and insignificant affairs. Hence, it would be idle to comment on the new agreement determining the destinies of the Samoans, although we may at least express our satisfaction that they have consented to stop fighting, and to accept the rulers set over them by England, Germany, and the United States.

The decision of Secretary Gage to resume the issue of gold certificates in denominations of $20 and upwards will meet with general approval. Perhaps this step ought to have been taken earlier, but it would be superfluous to discuss such a question now. The law, ever since 1863, has authorized and directed the Secretary to receive deposits of gold coin in the Treasury, to give certificates of deposit in exchange therefor, and to hold the gold for the redemption of the certificates on demand. An amendment of this law, passed in 1882, provided that whenever the gold in the Treasury, held for the redemption of greenbacks, should fall below the sum of $100,000,000, the Secretary should suspend the issue of such gold certificates. In 1893 this contingency came to pass. The greenback-redemption fund was reduced below that sum, and Secretary Carlisle suspended the issue of certificates. A little later, in consequence of a public loan, the gold in the Treasury rose above $100,000,000, and the Secretary resumed the issue of certificates, but when it again fell below the limit, he again suspended the issue and did not resume it during his term of office.

The amount of paper currency is limited by law, but the available gold is limited only by the products which we have to sell and which foreigners want to buy. It is fortunate that we have the means of converting gold in any amount into a convenient form of paper currency. Very likely we shall see few of the new gold certificates in circulation, but they can be used for bank reserves, and all the greenbacks now held for that purpose can be liberated and sent anywhere to facilitate the movement of the crops. It would be more convenient if the law

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

allowed the issue of gold certificates of the denomination of $10, but there must be a large field for notes of $20, even outside of bank vaults. The Bank of England issues no notes of less denomination than $25, yet its circulation is nearly $250,000,000 at the present time. The gold certificates of the Treasury, the issuance of which it is now proposed to resume, are of very nearly the same nature as Bank of England notes. These notes, although identical in form, are of two different kinds as regards their origin. There is an issue of about £16,000,000 sterling against Government securities held by the Bank, and about double that amount against gold deposited by private persons. The amount of its issues of this second class is without limit. It is required by law to issue its notes for gold, either coin or bullion, in any amount, not merely to all Englishmen, but to all persons who bring it. It is not required, as our Treasury is, to keep this gold on hand at all times to redeem the notes with. The general solvency of the Bank is the only security for the depositor.

A deficit of $8,506,000 is reported by the Treasury for the month of July. But the existence of a deficit is less remarkable than the fact that the deficit is the smallest recorded in July during the last five years. Interest and pension payments, during that month, are almost always sufficiently in excess of other months to create an excess of federal expenditure. But last month's excess not only is nearly $22,000,000 smaller than that of the month of July, 1898, but falls two to five million dollars below the same month in either 1897 or 1896. So far as concerns the public finances, this improvement is matter for congratulation, especially since it foreshadows a surplus for the autumn months, after the Treasury's heavy midsummer dues are paid. But, as usually happens when the Treasury's position alters, there arises at once the possibility of embarrassment in the money market. During July, notwithstanding the general deficit in public revenue, the Treasury drew something like $8,000,000 net in cash from the New York bank reserves—this at a time when the banks' percentage of reserve to liabilities was the lowest in six years. Apparently, the Government will have even larger automatic power to draw away and lock up cash a month or two hence, when all the country's circulation will be needed for the autumn trade.

The official Tammany rejoinder to the revelations made by the ex-magnates of Tammany Hall, Sheehan and Crimmins, is that they are both "sore-heads." Sheehan was deposed from the position of head distributor of plunder—therefore his bitterness against the man who supplanted him. Crimmins used to be the favored Tammany contractor; now the business goes to other firms; hence his sudden discovery of the monstrous conduct of Tammany in organizing companies to control all city contracts. This may all be true, and yet all that Sheehan and Crimmins allege may be true also. A sore head is no bar to truth-telling; in fact, it is one of the greatest provocatives to speaking truth known to man. Many a politician has displayed, along with a sore head, a mind working with uncommon lucidity and frankness. Sore-headedness has even been known to stir unsuspected dregs of conscience in some men. It really ought to take the place of wine in the proverb about "veritas." The real question is not whether Sheehan is a disgruntled politician, but whether his detailed and specific statement of Croker's attitude and actions during the mayoralty campaign of 1897 is accurate. There is much corroborative evidence to show that it is.

Croker had been "out of politics" for three years. He came back from Europe in 1897 to look the ground over and see if it was worth his while to set up again as Tammany boss. For some weeks the prospect was not inviting, and he continued to talk of himself as a permanently retired statesman, and spoke of Sheehan as the leader of Tammany Hall. But suddenly there came a change. Croker asserted his dictatorship. The time was, as Sheehan explains, shortly before the election, "when it seemed certain that Van Wyck would be elected." Why was it certain, and why did Croker so confidently take the helm? Sheehan did not explain this, but everybody knows what made the Tammany outlook roseate. It was Platt and his tool Tracy, in their control of the Republican organization and their refusal to endorse Mr. Low's nomination. Boss Platt said, by actions, what his indiscreet lieutenant, Lauterbach, actually blurted out in words, that he would much prefer Croker to Low. It was the political situation thus created by Platt which filled Croker's head with visions of fresh power and wealth. But he still needed one thing more; he needed funds. That he got money for the campaign in enormous quantities is certain; and most people can give a shrewd guess who furnished it. One of Mr. Moss's questions expressed the general suspicion. He asked if the Metropolitan Company had not subscribed $750,000 or so to the Tammany campaign fund. If it did not, the mystery of its since acting as if it "owned" the city, and getting for nothing privileges in the streets worth millions prospectively, is deeper and darker than ever. But from one corporation or another—probably from several—Croker got his huge corruption fund, and then the battle was over. Platt held the stirrup, corporations desirous of buying illegal privileges from the city gave a boost, and there was Croker in the saddle again.

Horgan & Slattery have filed a petition in bankruptcy, in order to get rid of liabilities to the amount of $191,392. The most interesting thing brought out in the proceedings is the statement that "the firm has had no place of business during the last six months." This covers the period of its greatest activity and largest success in getting work from the municipal authorities; the period in which, by their own admission, Horgan & Slattery have become "the peers of any architects in the United States." This was the last touch needed to complete the wonderful picture of Tammany architecture—the revelation that the official architects of the city have no office except "the Club," where they meet the heads of departments in the evening and receive orders from "old friends," like Commissioner of Correction Lantry, who agree with their view that they are "peers."

Newspaper reporting fairly wreaked itself upon the first day's proceedings in the new Dreyfus trial, and did its best to turn its simple yet intense dramatic interest into melodrama. The exaggerated emphasis given to every accessory—the columns about the way Dreyfus looked, whether his voice and bearing were those of an innocent man, and all that sort of reporter's supernatural insight—only serve to show how little that was new or striking came to light on Monday. Clearing away all the fine writing, what appears is that not a particle of fresh evidence against Dreyfus has yet been produced to take the place of the discredited mass of forgery and perjury used to condemn him before; and that his own testimony, on cross-examination, was clear and straightforward and apparently conclusive as against every old charge and new insinuation. The court is now sitting behind closed doors for a few days to consider the famous "secret dossier." This was pretty thoroughly riddled before the Court of Cassation, according to the *Figaro's* reports of the sessions of that tribunal, and shown to be little more than a gigantic mare's nest. But so many diplomatic mysteries are supposed to be among its addled eggs that the court feels bound to look at them in secret. After that, the prosecutor will produce what evidence he has against Dreyfus, if he has any. For that we must wait with as open minds as possible, though the former case against the unfortunate officer was such a compound of malice and credulity and false swearing and irregularity, and has been so thoroughly broken down, that any fresh proofs offered will necessarily be under strong suspicion from the start.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEEDS OF IMPERIALISM.

One of the commonest arguments in favor of imperialism represents the United States as a great nation, destined to play a large part in the world's history, and therefore under moral obligations to extend to the utmost its influence and power. Much stress is put upon the necessary abandonment of our policy of "isolation," whose continuance, it is said, is quite inconsistent with our acknowledged importance in the world's eye. We have passed out of infancy and youth into manhood. In population and wealth we are become great. Our people buy, sell, and get gain in every quarter of the globe. More significant still, other nations are getting in the way of consulting us, or seeking for our support, or inviting us to take a hand in their games. All these things, we are told, show unmistakably that we are a "world power" and "international force"; by which is always meant that we are to go into the business of acquiring colonies and dependencies and join with Great Britain or Russia in partitioning China.

Unquestionably, argument of this sort, appealing primarily to the imagination, has a subtle fascination for many people, especially for such as rarely think much of consequences and results. It should not be forgotten, however, that, in politics as well as in private concerns, those who would do things in a large way must have a large type of mind. Nothing can be clearer than that, if we are to go in for imperialism on the scale marked out for us by enthusiastic advocates of that policy, we ought, in the interest of consistency, if nothing more, to make some radical changes in our political and governmental methods. We cannot go on in the happy-go-lucky way that has so often characterized us, overlooking abuses, shutting our eyes to patent evils and defects, and good-naturedly putting up with conditions we are too lazy or indifferent to remedy, and yet expect success in a field strewn with difficulties and dangers, and in which the competition of training and acuteness is intensely keen. We cannot step out into what is invitingly called a large place, and maintain ourselves there, without conducting our affairs in a correspondingly broad way.

At whatever point an imperial policy is examined, there stands forth this necessity of a broad view. Take the civil service, for example. For an imperial administration, a clean and sound civil service, inaccessible to partisan influence, comes near to being the beginning of wisdom. We need also a stable system of finance, beyond the tinkering of demagogues, and remote from the "issues" of a Presidential campaign. We need a renovated and reorganized diplomatic and consular service. Further, we have got to devise a form of government for our colonies or dependencies. There can be no question that at this point the difficulties are many and serious; but there can also be no question of our duty to build for the future. May we confidently hope that the large view will prevail here? Or have we to fear progress along selfish and narrow lines? Are we to see Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines organized and manipulated in the interest of the dominant party in the United States, or with an eye solely to their healthy and prosperous development through coming generations? Shall we industriously seek for knowledge of local needs and conditions, on which to base our action, or go ahead on the theory that an American Congress can succeed at anything it chooses to turn its hand to? Shall we open their trade freely to all nations, or keep up the Spanish scourge of protective tariffs and discriminating duties? Shall we give away valuable franchises and concessions to men with a "pull," or administer them in the interest of local needs? Shall we send to the islands, as our official representatives men of character and experience, chosen for their business ability and administrative capacity, or shall McKinley telephone to Platt or Hanna or Quay whenever a colonial governor is to be appointed, in order to get the approval of some powerful American boss?

These are real problems of imperialism, as the question presents itself today to the people of the United States. There can be no doubt as to the course most in accord with the American spirit, or most certain to win on the narrower ground of party policy. From the beginning, material success in this country has been the result of skilful and far-seeing adaptation of means to ends. We have never gone ahead blindly, following the ways of our fathers, attacking material difficulties and obstacles in pursuit of a vague and uncertain end. Our prodigious development has been the result of painstaking thought and persistent effort, working always towards a definite end; and we can hope for similar results in our political life only as we set about the work in the same spirit. As a matter of party policy, too, it is the broad view that will win. Political parties are now on trial before the country on this issue of imperialism. They are expected to declare and defend their policy towards our new possessions; and the party in power must be prepared to show its faith by its works. The party that temporizes with the situation, or allows inefficiency and corruption to get a foothold in the colonial administration, has nothing before it but repudiation and defeat.

It is worth while remembering, also, that what we have called the broad view is the only one which will win approval in the judgment of the world. We have had to take a good deal of disparagement at the hands of European critics. They have sneered at our culture, condemned our political morality, taunted us on our devotion to money-getting, and reminded us of our remoteness and our youth. They are now watching to see how we succeed in managing colonies and playing the game of "world politics." We may depend upon it, therefore, that, to a considerable degree, our standing as a nation is at stake, and that failure in our new undertakings will go far, with many, to justify the worst that has been said about us. If we feel called to build an empire, surely we have here at once the opportunity and the duty of ridding ourselves, once for all, of the spirit of localism and indifference so often characteristic of our political life, and placing our whole system of policy and administration on solid and permanent foundations, broad and deep, in every way worthy of the best we think and know.

THE SHIPPING-SUBSIDIES PLOT.

One of the curiosities of the Iowa Republican platform last week was a vaguely worded plank in favor of "legislation" *(i. e.*, subsidies) for American shipping. The strange thing about it was that it had to be explained that this plank was adopted by "special request" of Senator Allison. No wonder the Iowa farmers wished to wash their hands of a job put up in the interest of shipbuilders and shipowners on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Not only has the shipping-subsidies bill (which failed in the last Congress only because Speaker Reed put his heavy foot upon it) all the marks of a job, but all the circumstances attending it justify us in describing it as a plot. The "special request" of Senator Allison simply shows that he is in it.

What was the shipping-subsidy bill? It was a bill enabling shipowners and shipbuilders to enter into twenty-year contracts with the Government. The consideration for the Government was a certain vague right to take over steamers in case of war. This naval-reserve feature of the bill proved utterly worthless in the Spanish war; the Government found that it had to buy ships on their owners' terms, just as if no such stipulation existed. For the party of the second part the consideration was a bounty out of the national Treasury. What the total would amount to was variously estimated. The majority report put it at $3,000,000 a year; the minority at $8,000,000. It was a question how many ships would take advantage of the act. But what was not disputed was that the bounty would amount yearly to about 8 per cent. of the cost of a 14-knot steamer, and to 10 per cent. in the case of a 20-knot steamer. In other words, the International Navigation Company, for example, would get from the Government in twenty years

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

twice the original cost of each of its fast steamers! And it would get it by a hard-and-fast contract, which no subsequent Congress could annul without seeming to repudiate a legal debt. It is that modest proposal which Senator Allison specially requested the Iowa farmers to tax themselves to carry out.

The bill was certainly an extraordinary example of effrontery. As the minority report on it in the House asserted: "The bill is in almost the exact form and grants to a penny the bounties demanded by the gentlemen who are to receive them." But what is the evidence that the bill was not only brazen, but in pursuance of a corrupt agreement? Only circumstantial evidence, of course, but very significant. It has been openly asserted, by David Lubin, for instance, who has talked with Mr. McKinley about his project of really protecting farmers by an export bounty, that Mark Hanna threw over the farmers, and promised the shipowners legislation in return for campaign contributions. If this were the case, and if the shipowners had been pursuing Hanna to make him pay up, the course of events could not have been different from what it has been. In the first place, Hanna made the President come out for ship-subsidies in his message to Congress. Then he pulled the wires to get Republican conventions to endorse the scheme. Then he himself introduced the bill. He put his own name on it, as the hall-mark of a regular Republican job. In the Senate report he actually apologized for not having lived up to his bargain and introduced the bill in the previous session. "The war prevented it," he said. But he pointed out that he had brought forward the bill "at the earliest practicable moment" in last winter's session. But Hanna did not get up early enough to take in Speaker Reed, and his bill died. The plan is now to move heaven and earth to pass it in the next Congress.

We are not going to argue the subsidy question with the Hanna syndicate. Something is to be said on both sides, undoubtedly. England and Germany pay subsidies, and have an expanding merchant marine. France pays $10,000,000 a year in bounties, and her tonnage is steadily decreasing. That fact is fatal to the argument that big bounties will create big fleets. Moreover, the lapse of time has put the seal of absurdity on much of the reasoning set forth by the Hannaites. What they said could not be done without subsidies, is done — *solvitur ambulando*. American ship-yards were never so prosperous as at this moment. They have orders to keep them busy for from one to three years. American ships' plates are sold to Belfast at a profit. These are some of the facts which would enter into a serious discussion; but no serious discussion with the Hanna plotters is called for. They know no argument except greed, and the opportunity unblushingly to fasten themselves like leeches upon the national Treasury during this their brief day of power.

Not to the front of brass of the Ohio Senator does the appeal lie, but to sober Republicans, to the farmer Republicans of the West, to Speaker Henderson, and to all who would be alarmed to see their party lend itself to such a selfish scheme of rich men. Look at the admissions of the President of the International Navigation Company. He did not deny that his business was profitable at present. "We make some money at the end of the year. We are enabled to live at present." Then what did he want of a bounty? To pay a "dividend to our stockholders." Only about $50,000,000 of Government money in twenty years did this retiring man ask for to distribute among his company's stockholders. Talk about Trusts! Talk about rich men using the Government for private gains! The shipping-subsidies bill is a masterpiece of selfish greed, compared with which the worst monopoly alive looks like a children's aid society. To pass it would go far to justify the worst that any agitator has said of the Government's being sold body and soul to the Hanna syndicate. It is not to be believed that it can pass the next House, with its narrow Republican majority. Speaker Henderson cannot desire to have his term turned into an orgy of extravagance and corruption. But his attention and that of all conservative Republicans cannot be called too early or too sharply to the shameless and dangerous nature of the shipping-subsidies plot. Senator Allison's special request that the Republican party execute it is only a special request that it commit suicide.

EXPELLING HUMAN NATURE.

The article on Anti-Trust Legislation contributed by Gov. Sayers of Texas to the current number of the *North American Review* is extremely disappointing. When in Congress Mr. Sayers had the name of being an able man, as well as an honest one, and he was regarded as a sound lawyer. But his present contribution to the solution of the most important problem in our internal policy brings us no further light. He gives a summary of the provisions of the Texas statute, but he does not attempt to offer the slightest proof that great combinations of capital are theoretically pernicious, or are, as a matter of fact, injurious. He asserts that such combinations are encouraged by protective duties, which no one disputes; but he also maintains that they are caused by the existence of the gold standard of values, which will be generally thought absurd. His condemnation of the "Trust" as "arrogant, unscrupulous, and merciless in the exercise of its powers," is justified only hypothetically. "If," he says, "the cost of production and distribution is being reduced to the minimum; if the output is being so regulated as not to exceed a given quantity, and its selling price determined by the Trust exclusively; if the small dealers are being put under duress as to those from whom and as to what they may buy, and as to how they may sell; if individual effort be no longer able to compete successfully with corporate power and corporate advantage; if young and weak industries are being strangled to death and the establishment of new enterprises prevented," legislation is at fault, and the State of Texas will do what it can to correct its errors.

As to part of this hypothesis, it may be said at once that the reduction of the cost of production and distribution of goods is almost as pure a blessing as can be imagined. It is synonymous with economic progress, and the incidental sufferings of a few individuals are offset by the improved condition of mankind. Whether or no the price of anything is "determined by the Trust exclusively" we are not informed, but, if so, the public can hardly complain unless the price fixed is unreasonable. Our railroads fix the rates for transportation, but it would be hard to make out that they are often unreasonably high. The Standard Oil Company is the typical "Trust," but it is quite obvious that the competition of electricity and gas prevents any "exclusive determination" by it of the price of oil. All that remains of Gov. Sayers's hypothetical indictment is that individuals cannot compete with corporations, that feeble industries are strangled, and that small dealers are put under duress as to their buying and selling. The difficulty encountered by individuals, however, in contending against great corporations is a result of the accumulation of capital, not of the existence of "Trusts." The only substantial accusation relates to the duress under which small dealers do their buying and selling.

That such grievances exist, however, and that they ought not to, we may admit, but there are some patent reasons why it is vain to legislate against them. The Texas law forbids every human being to agree with any other on the price of anything whatsoever, to sell anything below its cost of production with the intent to get the advantage of a competitor, or to deal in anything that has been produced by any one or sold by any one in violation of these restraints. Such a law is totally incompatible with present economic conditions. It might possibly be enforced in one of the village communities in India described by Sir Henry Maine. Some hundreds of years ago legislation of this kind was thought desirable in the interests of the trade-guilds of Europe. But in those

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ages the aim was to prevent competition, while Gov. Sayers asserts that his aim is to encourage competition. His theory of trade is that every one must ignore the existence of competitors. The grocer must not reduce the selling price of his wares because he finds the grocer across the street is selling cheaper than he. The natural consequence of such a step on his part would be to injure his competitor, and the law presumes that a man intends the natural consequences of his acts. But it is by precisely such reductions of price that the régime of competition is maintained. Smith observes that Jones is selling groceries at prices that return him large profits. Smith thinks that he may as well share in these gains, and he sets up a shop where he sells at lower prices than Jones in order to get Jones's customers to trade with him. He has no animosity towards Jones, but in legal diction he intends to injure him, and no doubt he does injure him. Jones has to lower his prices and content himself with smaller gains. Smith and Jones may be actuated by the meanest motives. They hardly pretend to be acting from any disinterested concern for the interests of the public; but the public is on the whole benefited by their competition.

To attempt to change all this is to attempt to expel human nature from daily life. In the city of Cleveland a great many thousand people are engaged in a general boycott. They come squarely within the purview of the Texas statute. They are conspiring to injure men engaged in legitimate business. Yet these very people are doubtless to a man in favor of "anti-Trust" laws. They favor them because they think they will apply to other people, and not to themselves. But the very difficulty with such laws is that, unless they are applied universally, they are unjust and consequently ineffective. For this reason they cannot be partially enforced, and if the attempt were made to enforce them universally it would fail, unless human nature underwent a sudden change. That it has undergone such a change in Texas is altogether improbable, and it is safe to predict that Gov. Sayers's statute will produce nothing but confusion, corruption, partiality, and injustice.

FOREIGN TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

For many years the fact that the exports of Great Britain have been of much less value than the imports has given concern to numerous writers. The mercantile theory, although long since exploded, still influences the views of business men, and much of the language of trade implies that the theory is valid. A more serious cause for apprehension has recently been discovered in the decline of these exports as compared with the exports of other countries. It has been maintained that this decline indicated that the glory was departing from English commerce, that the supremacy of English manufactures was threatened, and that the country was on the verge of commercial decay. The industrial progress of Germany and the brilliant achievements of the United States have created genuine alarm, and if the prosperity of these countries endangers that of England, the situation may well be regarded as critical.

There are many reasons, however, why it is unnecessary for Englishmen to worry over the state of the commerce of their country. In spite of the fact that the balance of trade has long been against them, they have succeeded in prospering to a wonderful degree, and there are no tangible evidences that the relative decline of their export trade is arresting their prosperity. Nor, if we take a broad view of the situation, is there any reason to hold that such a decline should even in theory be disastrous. The accumulation of capital in England has for more than two generations been prodigious. Under the influence of internal peace, freedom of trade, moderate taxation, and the development of the mechanical arts, wealth has increased with leaps and bounds. Even in the beginning of this century Col. Torrens wrote that England had acquired "a species of property, a vested interest, in the industrial products of all the regions of the earth," and this process of acquisition has been steadily going on ever since. Until quite recently, it has been on the whole a peaceful process. As Mill said, industry rather than war was the natural growth of power and importance to Great Britain. Trade did not follow the flag, but preceded it, and it flourished more before the Jingo period than it has done since. And if anything shall ruin British commerce, it will more likely be the new policy of sustaining it by immense military expenditure than anything else.

For, as is pointed out by a writer in the *Contemporary Review*, the possessions of Englishmen are largely in the hands of foreigners. In 1865 an article, attributed to Mill, called attention to the rise in the rate of interest that had taken place, and showed that it was due to the investment of English capital in other countries. This process was regarded as not a temporary movement, but a permanent tendency. It was due to "fundamental and permanent changes in the relation of the aggregate of English capital and foreign demand." Mill held that this outflow of English capital was the principal means by which the decline of profits in England had been arrested. He declared that "the mere continuance of the present annual increase of capital, if no circumstance occurred to counteract its effect, would suffice in a small number of years to reduce the rate of net profit to 1 per cent." England depended no longer upon the fertility of her own soil to keep up her rate of profit, but on the soil of the whole world. The fleets that her abundant capital enabled her to construct brought to her shores the food products of the remotest regions, and at little greater cost than the expense of production in those countries. Just as the dwellers in great cities now enjoy the produce of the farms at as low rates as dwellers in the country, so the people of England are cheaply fed by the people of the rest of the world.

The simple explanation of this is that Englishmen own, literally or metaphorically, the land and the instruments of production everywhere to such an extent that they may be said not to need to work so hard as formerly for a living. London is crowded with companies whose business lies in other lands: land companies, mining companies, mortgage companies, railway companies, water companies, gas companies, etc. Australia is perhaps owned more by residents of England than by its own inhabitants. Canada is in a literal sense a British possession. The United States has been for years a favorite field for English capitalists. Their money has built many of our railways and is invested in many of our factories. The amount of British capital invested in Argentina has been estimated as high as £200,000,000. The securities of every government on the face of the earth are held in London.

Taking British investments in India and Australia and Canada, and adding to them the sums invested in foreign countries, we see that the revenue regularly coming from abroad to people living in the British Isles must be enormous. It might well be thought that their exports represent merely new investments of their capital in other countries, and that if they ceased altogether the income of the existing possessions would be sufficient to keep them in prosperity. Some Englishmen pull long faces at the sums which they say are paid to foreigners for butter and meat and grain. But, as the writer in the *Contemporary* says, it is the foreigner who is paying his rents and the interest on his mortgages in the shape of these commodities. If, as this writer conjectures, the value of the property of the inhabitants of the British Isles lying beyond their own confines is £5,000,000,000, they may contemplate some decline of their exports without uneasiness.

THE FRENCH BUDGET.

PARIS, July 26, 1899.

The French budget was long kept below the sum of two milliards (2,000 millions of francs); when it attained that sum, M. Thiers is said to have told the Chamber: "Bid it good-by; you will never see it again." He was right; the sum of two milliards rose gradually to three, and now we can bid an eternal adieu to this last sum.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The reign of Louis-Philippe was the golden age of our finances; it was an era of economy, and at the same time of useful expenditure; it was the period of the first development of railways, of many industrial enterprises, of the creation of important banks. The Revolution of 1848 brought about an interruption of this prosperity; the Second Empire had very flourishing finances again, but spent very large sums in wars. It was a period of great financial extravagance, but also of great industrial developments. In 1869, the last normal year of the imperial régime, the ordinary expenses of the state amounted to 1,737 millions of francs.

In 1870 came the war. Its consequences, in a financial point of view, were disastrous. France had to pay to Germany, for the ransom of the occupied provinces, a sum of five thousand millions. The money was found and placed in the hands of the Germans with a celerity which seemed incredible at the time. The secret of it lay in the fact that France was then a very large holder of foreign securities, which were sold, chiefly in London; and the ransom was paid by instalments. Many French people were flattered in their misfortune by the thought of the great wealth of France, forgetting that France had to issue a loan of five thousand millions. This was simply added to the long list of her debts; it has not yet been paid. After what may be called the liquidation of the war of 1870, when its permanent effect was felt in the finances of the nation, in 1894 the total of the ordinary expenses had risen to the sum of 2,623 millions of francs. The difference between this and the last budget of the Second Empire was therefore no less than 886 millions of francs; and this yearly sum may be considered as the result of the unfortunate war of 1870.

As long as the Constituent Chamber was in session at Versailles, there was a great cry for the reform of the finances, for retrenchment in every department, for a diminution in the number of office-holders. For all administrative matters the influence of M. Thiers was excellent; he was a good financier if he was not always a good statesman and a good economist. But France had to reorganize her army, and this involved enormous expenses, which have never been interrupted to this time. When the question of the form of government was finally settled, the consequences of a democratic and republican government were felt by degrees in the financial sense. If the Republicans had preserved the *scrutin de liste*, or vote by general ticket, which is a party rather than a personal ballot, these consequences might perhaps have been delayed; but, with the present system of the *scrutin d'arrondissement*, the Deputy becomes a sort of local agent for a very small division of France, and he can secure his reëlection only by gifts of all sorts to his arrondissement and to all personal and local interests. As a whole, the Chamber speaks invariably for retrenchment, while every one of its members is working incessantly for some object which represents directly or indirectly an addition to the budget of expenditure. This tendency is one of the great evils of a democracy; general considerations have to give way to private interests. The increase in the number of offices and office-holders is one of the effects of the omnipotence of Parliament. Each Deputy, in order to keep his seat, is obliged to provide offices for some of his influential electors, his sons, his relations. As soon as a law is passed for the protection of labor, of children, or for any other democratic object, a number of inspectors are appointed with a view to securing the execution of the law. The Chamber has a complete initiative in the matter of expenses, and every member can ask for a new credit. This omnipotence is destructive of all budgets prepared by the administration.

M. Thiers made, after the war, a provision of 200 millions a year for the sinking-fund; and for a few years this sum was deducted from the 2,623 millions of the budget of 1874. The 200 millions has been reduced in 1899 to 95. The difference is 105 millions, and, if we take note of it, we find that the real difference between the two budgets of 1874 and 1899 amounts not to 851 millions, but to this sum augmented by 105—that is to say, 956 millions, nearly a milliard. This melancholy comparison will all the more strike a financier because the rate of interest has greatly changed since 1874. M. Thiers issued the great war loan in five per cents; in 1883 the French rentes were converted from 5 to 4½ per cent.; in 1894 the conversion was continued, and the state now gives its creditors only 3½ instead of 4½. These successive conversions have allowed the state to effect a saving of no less than 108 millions a year, adding which to the sum of 956 millions we arrive at a grand total of 1,064 millions. This is really the augmentation which has taken place in the ordinary expenses in the course of twenty-five years; the French budget of expenses has increased regularly by 42 million francs a year.

This progression is truly alarming, all the more so because it is constant and regular. Many people ask themselves whether France, rich as she is, will be able to bear such a burden long, especially as the population is nearly stationary. The enormous taxation, which is a consequence of the growing expenses, weighs heavily on the earning power of the nation; it is an obstacle to the industrial development, as is clearly shown by the amount of French exports from year to year. In 1874 France exported 3,701 millions of goods of all sorts; in 1899 she exported only 3,503 millions, a difference of 198 millions. These figures compare unfavorably with similar figures in England, Germany, Belgium, and the United States.

I said above that the number of office-holders, of public functionaries, is alarmingly on the increase. I have not their exact number, but it is proportionate to the amount of pensions paid by the state to those who have left the public service on account of age. This, in 1869, at the end of the Empire, amounted to 85 millions; in the budget of 1899 it comes in for 237 millions, an augmentation of 152 millions. It can, therefore, be fairly said that the number of pensions has tripled under the Republic.

France has made and is making enormous sacrifices for her army and navy. The Chambers, since 1870, have invariably voted all the credits necessary for this increase. Our army, the active and the territorial included, and the reserves, would amount, in time of war, to nearly four millions of men. Such a war instrument, in the opinion of the best judges, would be too unwieldy, notwithstanding all the efforts which might be made for its mobilization; it would certainly be too costly. It has been calculated that the expenses of the national defence in the war of 1870-1871 amounted to ten millions a day; the army then numbered at its maximum 600,000 men, reckoning in this number all the levies made in the provinces by the Government of the National Defence. The expenses of a new war, with the present dimensions of the French army, would be much higher; they would rise perhaps to twenty, perhaps to thirty millions a day. It is frightful to think of such outlays if the war lasted any length of time. A national loan, to an enormous amount, would immediately become necessary; it would undoubtedly be subscribed, but at what rate of interest? That depends upon many circumstances, and particularly upon the credit of France at the moment war is declared. Those who have not abandoned the idea of revenge and of the reconquest of Alsace-Lorraine, ought, therefore, to take the greatest care of the credit of the country; but this preoccupation does not seem to have much weight with the Chambers, and they allow the debt of France to grow to the most alarming proportions.

In 1870 the funded debt and the redeemable debt amounted to about 13 milliards of francs; and it was not without some difficulty that the Government of the National Defence issued in London the loan of 250,000,000 which goes in France under the name of the Morgan loan. The Bank of France was obliged to lend about 700,000,000 to the State. At present, the public debt of France reaches nearly 35 milliards of francs. In case of war, in order to maintain the country on a war footing, and to bring all its forces into action, it would be necessary to find from twenty to thirty millions of francs a day. Such a perspective is truly grave, and ought to impress our legislators with the necessity of funding as much as possible of the present debt, of avoiding all unnecessary expenses, of practising seriously a policy of retrenchment, of refusing to create new offices, and of leaving to private efforts and enterprise as much as can be taken away from the work of the state. We hear, on the contrary, constantly of plans for the management of the railroads by the state, or of the mines, which are now worked by private companies. The Socialist school would, if it could, suppress all private enterprises, and make the country an immense state establishment. It is safe to assert that no system could be more ruinous, and at the same time more destructive of those individual forces in which must lie, on the whole, the strength of a civilized and progressive state. Democracy is costly enough, but what would not Socialism be?

WASHINGTON'S VISIT TO BARBADOS IN 1751.

GEORGETOWN,
BRITISH GUIANA, July, 1899.

"No, sir, I don't believe George Washington ever visited Barbados!" Such was the declaration recently made, in all candor, by an American gentleman to a British colonist who had referred to the only journey Washington ever took outside of that country of which he became the Father. It is, however, a fact that, as the companion of his invalid

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

elder brother, Lawrence, then in a rapid consumption; George Washington sailed from Virginia on the 28th of September, 1751; arrived at Barbados on or about the 3d of November, and sailed thence, on his return to Virginia, on board the *Industry*, on the 22d of December. His passage, each way, was a rough one, and prolonged to five weeks. The methodical young Virginian kept a Diary during his trip, extracts from which were published by Jared Sparks, in his 'Writings of George Washington' (vol. ii., pp. 424 to 426).

On their arrival at Bridgetown, the capital of Barbados, the Virginia brothers would in ordinary course take up their quarters at a tavern, which in those days took the place of a hotel. A hundred and fifty years ago, however, as in our own time, the people of Barbados were much given to hospitality; or, to use Washington's own words, "Hospitality and a genteel behaviour are shown to every gentleman stranger by the gentleman inhabitants." Accordingly, there is this entry in the Diary, on the 4th of November:

"This morning received a card from Major Clarke, welcoming us to Barbadoes, with an invitation to breakfast and dine with him. We went—myself with some reluctance, as the small-pox was in the family. We were received in the most kind and friendly manner by him. . . . After drinking tea we were again invited to Mr. Carter's, and desired to make his house ours till we could provide lodgings agreeable to our wishes, which offer we accepted."

The "reluctance" to accept Major Clarke's invitation, on account of the presence of smallpox in the family, was justified by subsequent events. The Major Clarke who welcomed the Washingtons, and who showed them much attention during their stay in the island, was Major Gedney Clarke, who for years filled the post of Collector of Customs at Barbados, and was a member of Council. He and his family were much concerned in the colonizing of Demerara, then under the Dutch, but now forming a part of British Guiana.

On the 5th, Dr. Hilary, "an eminent physician recommended by Major Clarke," passed a favorable opinion upon Lawrence's case. In the cool of the evening, accompanied by Mr. Carter, the brothers rode out to seek lodgings in the country, as the doctor advised. They "were perfectly enraptured with the beautiful prospects which every side presented to their view—the fields of cane, corn, fruit-trees, etc., in a delightful green." They were, however, unsuccessful in their search for lodgings. On the 7th, they dined again at Major Clarke's, where they met the Surveyor-General and the judges. After dinner, which in those days was taken early in the afternoon, the whole party went with the Washingtons on a hunt for lodgings, this time with success. "We pitched on the house of Captain Croftan, commander of James's Fort. He was desired to come to town next day to propose his terms." On the 8th, Captain Croftan made known his terms, which were fifteen pounds a month, exclusive of liquor and washing, "which we find ourselves." Washington's frugal mind characterized these terms as "extravagantly dear." Lawrence was, nevertheless, obliged to accept them. The brothers moved into their quarters that evening. Of the prospect from their residence, the Diary records: "It is very pleasantly situated near the sea, and about a mile from town. The prospect is extensive by land and pleasant by sea, as we command a view of Carlyle Bay and the shipping." Carlisle Bay is the harbor of Bridgetown.

Again, on the 9th, came "a card" from Major Clarke, inviting the brothers to dinner on the 10th, this time as the guests of the Beefsteak and Tripe Club, which was to meet at Judge Maynard's. This club was instituted by Major Clarke himself, and met at the houses of the several members. The entry in the Diary on the 10th of November will give some idea of the heartiness of the welcome accorded to their Virginia visitors by the Barbadians with whom they became acquainted. It runs as follows:

"We were genteelly received by Judge Maynard and his lady, and agreeably entertained by the company. They have a meeting every Saturday, this being Judge Maynard's day. After dinner there was the greatest collection of fruits set on the table, that I have yet seen—the granadilla, sapadilla, pomegranate, sweet orange, water-lemon, forbidden fruit, apples, guavas, etc., etc. We received invitations from every gentleman there. Mr. Warren desired Major Clarke to show us the way to his house. Mr. Hacket insisted on our coming Saturday next to his, it being his day to treat with beefsteak and tripe. But, above all, the invitation of Mr. Maynard was most kind and friendly. He desired, and even insisted, as well as his lady, on our coming to spend some weeks with him, and promised nothing should be wanting to make our stay agreeable. My brother promised he would accept the invitation as soon as he should be a little disengaged from the doctors."

On the 15th, Washington was "treated with a ticket to see the play of *George Barnwell* acted." Of the acting he observes that "the character of Barnwell and several others were said to be well performed." On the 17th of the month, the future hero was "strongly attacked with the small-pox," which had probably been incubating since his first visit to Major Clarke's. Until the 12th of December his illness kept him within doors. Dr. Lanahan was constant in his attendance upon the patient, and Major Clarke's family visited him in his illness, and "contributed all they could in sending him the necessaries which the disorder required." As soon as he was able to get abroad, Washington called upon the Clarkes, to thank them for their kindness. Leaving his brother Lawrence at Barbados, whence the invalid two months afterwards sailed for Bermuda, vainly seeking for better health, Washington sailed out of Carlisle Bay at midday on the 22d of December, 1751.

Washington wrote down the general impressions he had received on his visit to Barbados, as well of the people as of the country. Of the physical features of the island, the young land-surveyor noted:

"There are several singular risings in this island one above another, so that scarcely any part is deprived of a beautiful prospect, both of sea and land; and, what is contrary to observation in other countries, each elevation is better than the next below."

Of the fruits he found many delicious, but none pleased his taste so well as the pine. His practised eye led him to note that "the earth in most parts is extremely rich, and as black as our richest marsh meadows." After instancing the productiveness of the soil, he philosophizes thus:

"How wonderful that such people should be in debt, and not be able to indulge themselves in all the luxuries as well as necessaries of life. Yet so it happens. Estates are often alienated for debts. How persons coming to estates of two, three, and four hundred acres (which are the largest), can want, is to me most wonderful."

Of the conditions of the inhabitants he observed that there were few who might be called middling people. "They are very rich or very poor, for by a law of the island every gentleman is obliged to keep a white person for every ten acres, capable of acting in the militia, and consequently the persons so kept cannot but be very poor." Washington's soldierly eye noted the bearing of the militia. He held them to be "well-disciplined." Moreover, there were large intrenchments cast up wherever it was possible to land, and "as nature has greatly assisted, the island may not improperly be said to be one entire fortification."

Thoughtful and grave, far beyond his years, the young colonist from North America, then only in his twentieth year, placed on record his observation that the islanders of Barbados had a political grievance. His words ran:

"They are, however, very unhappy in regard to their officers' fees, which are not paid by any law. They complain particularly of the provost-marshal, or Sheriff-General of the island, patented at home and rented at eight hundred pounds a year. Every other officer is exorbitant in his demands."

The friendly relations that existed between the colonists of North America and those of the West Indian islands is well exemplified by the kindness with which the Washingtons were received, when they visited Barbados. How close were the connections subsisting between the Virginians and the Barbadians may be gathered from the fact that no less than thirty-three persons in Virginia are named among the subscribers to the Rev. Griffith Hughes's 'Natural History of Barbados,' which was published in London in 1750, the year before Washington's visit. Among those subscribers were Lord Fairfax, and the Honorables William Fairfax, John Robinson (President of the Council), William Newton, and the Rev. William Dawson, D.D. (President of William and Mary College); Cols. Carter, Burwell, Thornton, Fitz-Hugh, Fry, Beverley, Lunden Carter, Blande, Braxton, Carter Burwell, and George Lee; Majors Dangerfield, Monroe, and Wayener; Thomas Nelson, James Reid, Beverley Whiting, Stephen Dewey, Edward Pendleton, Lumford Lomax, and John Lee. Some idea of the whereabouts of Major Clarke's house may be gathered from a statement in the 'Natural History of Barbados' (p. 6). Referring to the position of the Indian Bridge, which in the early days crossed the stream that ran into Carlisle Bay, Hughes says: "The above-mentioned Bridge was placed over that part of the creek, or narrow neck of the Bay, which divides Major Gidney Clark's House from Colonel John Fairchild's." It should be an easy matter to trace the position of Capt. Croftan's house by an examination of the records in the Colonial Secretary's Office, at Bridgetown. Of the numerous Americans who now take holiday trips to the West Indies, perchance some may have the inclination to locate the spot where Washington dwelt when he sojourned in Barbados.

Correspondence.

THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND THE COLLEGES.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The comments which I wish to make

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

upon the recent report on historical teaching are with reference to some of its most general features; I feel, therefore, that there will be no injustice in making them before I have examined the report itself. School men have known for some time what, in general, would be its conclusions. In so far as they are likely to meet with general approval, they are of a rather obvious character.

Secondary school men must often in their hearts pray to be delivered from their friends. Our good champions, the collegians, have done much for us, but it is a question whether the limit of their service is not now nearly reached. When we reflect that we cannot possibly accept all the authoritative views of all the authorities, perhaps courage may be plucked up to assert a somewhat more manly independence in the discussion and settlement of problems purely internal in character.

It has for a long time been agreed, in a general way, that the studies below college grade should not substantially differ in the case of young men intending to enter college and in that of those who will not do so. The evident conclusion from this agreement is that secondary curricula must be planned with reference chiefly to previous, not subsequent, work, and that the aim of these secondary curricula is to complement and supplement the elementary study. The pressure on the part of the college men becomes, however, increasingly heavy upon the secondary school, and an emphasis is placed upon the term *preparatory* which is, in my judgment, highly mischievous. The dilemma is often presented to the secondary school of sacrificing, either really or apparently, one of its two classes of students.

There would be something grotesque in the spectacle of a conscientious and not too intelligent school principal sitting down with the final judgment of the specialists in each department and endeavoring to construct a school programme. The historians have just insisted upon four full years for them; Greek demands three; Latin five or six; Science insists upon three or four; the mathematicians have never contemplated any reduction in the time allotted to them; French and German are insisting upon not less than four years, and English is equally grasping. Each department, with the possible exception of Greek, insists that every student shall take all of its work. There is a ridiculous aspect to all this, but there is also a more serious one. Is it too much to ask from our men of widest culture and deepest insight that they shall steadily hold in view all interests and all needs? Or must we resign ourselves to mere partisanship even here?

Similarly, in the judgment of the writer, the wholesale condemnation of the year course in general history shares in this quality of partisanship and partial survey. It can scarcely be open to question that, for many students and in many cases, the single-year course in general history, plus some work in American history, is the best that can be planned. Let our college friends spend some energy in giving us the best possible text-books for this work, and we will ask no more. It is true that such a course finds little space in private academies, or in the course of students who will enter college; in our public high schools, however, a thorough study of outlines and some knowledge of the great landmarks of the world's progress are all that thousands of young people may hope for. Shall we serve their interests well if we inform them thoroughly as to the constitution of Cleisthenes and leave them quite ignorant as to Calvin and Chaucer and William the Silent?

I am, sir, yours very truly,

FREDERICK WHITTON.

MICHIGAN MILITARY ACADEMY, August 4, 1899.

Notes.

Doubleday & McClure Co.'s fall list of publications includes a translation, by R. C. Long, of Jean de Bloch's 'The Future of War,' to which is accredited the idea of the Peace Congress at The Hague; 'Miscellanies,' by the late Henry George, and his Life by his son and namesake; 'Nancy Hanks,' the story of Abraham Lincoln's mother, by Caroline Hanks Hitchcock, and a Life of Lincoln by Ida M. Tarbell; 'Heroes of Our Early Wars,' by the Rev. Cyrus Townsend Brady; 'The Boys' Book of Invention,' by Ray S. Baker; 'Tales of the Telegraph,' by Jasper Ewing Brady; 'Nature's Garden,' an aid to our knowledge of wild flowers, by Neltje Blanchan; 'Sketches in Egypt,' by Charles Dana Gibson; and a Kipling Kalendar for 1900. In connection with J. M. Dent & Co., this firm will undertake a "Temple Edition" of Dickens in forty volumes—good news to all who know the meaning of this trademark.

The Century Co.'s "Thumb-nail" series will be continued with 'Rip Van Winkle and the Legend of Sleepy Hollow,' with an introduction by Joseph Jefferson; and the 'Meditations of Marcus Aurelius,' newly translated by Benjamin E. Smith. They announce, too, 'Maximilian in Mexico,' by Mrs. Sarah Yorke Stevenson.

Prince Kropotkin's 'Reminiscences of My Life'; 'The American in Holland,' by the Rev. W. E. Griffis; 'A Dividend to Labor,' by the Rev. N. P. Gilman; 'How Much is Left of the Old Doctrines?' by the Rev. Washington Gladden; and 'The Little Fig-Tree Stories,' by Mary Hallock Foote, are in the press of Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Ginn & Co. have in preparation 'An Introduction to the Methods and Materials of Literary Criticism,' by Profs. Charles Mills Gayley and Fred Newton Scott, of which two volumes will be ready next fall; and 'Ways of Wood Folk,' by William J. Long.

'On General Thomas's Staff,' a story for the young, by Byron A. Dunn, is in the press of A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

The tenth volume of the sixth series of the Massachusetts Historical Society's selections is unequally divided between an index to that series and a selection from Sir William Pepperrell's papers in the Society's possession (by gift of Dr. Jeremy Belknap). These documents, which centre about the siege of Louisbourg, have been freely availed of by historians, but have only partially been printed. This is especially true of the private letters which make up the bulk of the present reprint, and which satisfy all reasonable curiosity as to a military and naval enterprise of great significance in our colonial history. Two plans accompany the papers, which have been judiciously annotated. An appendix contains a roster of the troops engaged.

Mr. Cecil Headlam has added to the "Mediæval Towns" series (Macmillan) a volume on 'Nuremberg' which well deserves its place beside Mr. Cook's 'Rouen.' Comparing the two books, we find evidence of deeper historical research in 'Rouen' and a greater regard for the needs of the tourist in 'Nuremberg.' The municipal and artistic activities of Nuremberg were both so strongly marked that they afford a rich store of topics to the author and of interests to the traveller. Probably no town in Germany outside the great capitals is more frequented by Americans than the red-roofed city on the Pegnitz, and few persons are fortified with the local knowledge which will enable them to neglect in safety this sketch of its origin, progress, and leading citizens. Commendation now as always must be given the beautiful drawings of Miss Helen James. They adorn any volume which they illustrate.

'Alfred the Great: Containing Chapters on his Life and Times' (London: Adam & Charles Black; New York: Macmillan) is a high-class advertisement of the national commemoration which will be held in 1901. The editor, Mr. Alfred Bowker, Mayor of Winchester, frankly points in his preface to a circular of solicitation which is given at the end; and the circular, in turn, asks for subscriptions to the fund of £30,000 which is being started by the Lord Mayor of London. "The International Committee organizing this Commemoration have considered it very advisable that a publication should be issued with a view to diffusing as widely as possible public knowledge of the King's life and work. This being the sole object, it became essential that the book should not be costly, but within the reach of all. Therefore, it was also necessary to restrict its scope; numerous subjects and possible illustrations of interest have been left for a full and complete biography of the great king." The volume contains eight essays written by contributors who are all prominent in English letters: Sir Walter Besant, Frederic Harrison, the Bishop of Bristol, Charles Oman, Sir Clements Markham, Professor Earle, Sir Frederick Pollock, and the Rev. W. J. Loftie. On the cover is a reproduction in colors of King Alfred's Jewel. Her Majesty has accepted the dedication, and the Poet Laureate furnishes a poem, entitled, "The Spotless King," which, among other characteristic lines, contains this one:

"And none are truly great that are not good."

The articles are all creditable to their authors, and show that, though the work is intended for the unlearned public, the business of composition has been taken seriously. We have found two papers particularly good, viz., Professor Earle's on "King Alfred as a Writer," and Sir Frederick Pollock's on "English Law before the Conquest." By reason of its purpose and of its own merits, the book should be widely spread.

Those interested in the tendencies of economic thought of the last twenty-five years will welcome Mr. C. W. Macfarlane's 'Value and Distribution' (J. B. Lippincott Co.). To many the "new economics" has been identified with the negative critical work of the Historical School; great emphasis on "induction" as opposed to "deduction"; and a weakness for "ethical" applications. That there is a mass of constructive work, some of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which is embodied in the publications of the Austrian group, much more of it scattered through various magazines and journals, is not so generally recognized, because no effort had been made to bring it together as a coherent whole. To give permanence to this scattered work, and to bring it, as well as that of the Austrian economists, into some sort of co-relation with the work of the so-called orthodox school of economists, is one of the purposes of the present volume. "Ethics" is avoided, and, in the problem of Distribution, the question of equity of the distribution of wealth has been consciously and purposely avoided, the author confining himself to a purely theoretic study of the laws of Distribution. In his criticism of the modern economists, as well as in the statement of his own position, Mr. Macfarlane shows his grasp of economic theory, and has made a valuable contribution to economic literature. Coming from outside the academic circle, the book is significant of the attitude of mind of the educated business man, and points to a more sympathetic relation between the University and the world of affairs.

It is hard to see what reason there is for the existence of Dr. E. C. S. Gibson's commentary on Job ('The Book of Job,' Macmillan), except it be that the series to which it belongs (Oxford Commentaries, edited by Walter Lock, D.D., Ireland Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture) stood in need of something of the kind. The pity is that the kind is so poor, and it is to be hoped that the succeeding volumes of the series will reach a higher level. This instalment makes no contribution to its subject; it fails to see the problems involved, and thus cannot even present the solutions of others. The series as a whole, according to the prefatory note of the general editor, is to be "less elementary than the Cambridge Bible for Schools, less critical than the International Critical Commentary, less didactic than the Expositor's Bible." The latter two minuses are easy of attainment, and are abundantly attained in this volume; with regard to the first, no one would ever choose this book in place of the golden little commentary by Davidson in the Cambridge Bible. We cannot see that it is less elementary, except for two or three pages on the versions, and Dr. Gibson certainly makes no approach to Davidson's exegetical tact and learning. Further, though much has been accomplished since Davidson's little book appeared, there are here few or no signs of advance. The almost solved problem of the original prose legend of Job and of the folk-tale about him meets with no allusion, and though there are references to the contributions of Budde, not the slightest account is taken of his last reconstruction—fantastic, it may be, but epoch-marking. Finally, so far as the present volume is concerned, the only advantage which this series has over the Cambridge Bible is that it uses the Revised and not the Authorized Version as a basis. It would be a cause for thankfulness if the Cambridge Bible would follow this most reasonable example.

In 'Through Armenia on Horseback' (E. P. Dutton & Co.), the Rev. George H. Hepworth, sent out by the N. Y. *Herald* to look into the Armenian massacres, describes his journey of investigation. As he had such full permission from the Sultan that he was even provided with an escort of Turkish officials, we cannot help fearing that many unpleasant facts may have been kept out of his way, and we are not reassured by his manner of operating or by many of his comments, which suggest that one of Mr. Hepworth's characteristics is a certain naïveté not exactly suited to the difficult and delicate task he had in hand. His reflections are at times almost childishly commonplace, his style is generally trivial, and his rather lumbering attempts at gayety are apt to be exasperating. On the other hand, if not keen in detection nor profound in insight, he did not shut his eyes to obvious truths, however painful, or allow himself to be led away by the specious explanations of those who had been personally kind to him. Thus, although he travelled with specially appointed companions, and was hospitably entertained by the local officials, he did his best to hear what he could of the Armenian question from the other side also, and it is that other side which convinced him. If he tries to explain the massacres, he does not attempt to palliate them. His conclusions are pessimistic enough. He believes that the future of the Armenians is hopeless, and meanwhile they are in continual danger of fresh slaughter; that the Turks are incapable of reform; that "I cannot name the root of the difficulty, but I feel sure that it is political rather than religious, and that not all the Powers of Europe can make Turkey other than it is, a moribund nation with a fatal disease for which there is no known remedy."

'De l'Influence Française sur l'Esprit Public en Roumanie: Les Origines,' by Pompiliu Eliade (Paris: Leroux), is a study of the intellectual awakening of Rumania at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The author, a native who has studied in Paris, ascribes this awakening almost entirely to the direct or indirect influence of France, whether in the form of the enlightenment of the "philosophes," the ideas of the great Revolution, or the stirring glories of Napoleon; whether brought in by wanderers and émigrés, or introduced as a fashion in literature and society by Greeks or Russians. He exaggerates, perhaps, the share of French influence in all this, but not, we think, to any great extent. Writing soberly and carefully, he has given us in accessible form an account of the forces that have aided in transforming a barbarous Oriental dependency into a small but interesting modern state, proud of its Latin language and the descent it claims from the Romans, and in intellectual as well as political community with the rest of the civilized world.

'Les Colonies pendant la Révolution,' by M. Léon Deschamps (Paris: Perrin), is a continuation of his 'Histoire de la Question Coloniale en France,' published in 1891. He now explains the colonial policy of the Constituent Assembly, telling only enough of the story of the troubles in the colonies to make his explanations clear. This is the first time the subject has been studied adequately in the documents themselves. In his introduction, the author has furnished an excellent bibliography of all the sources he has used. The most curious phase of his subject is the long conflict in the legislative conscience between "philanthropy and 5 per cent."—in other words, between the principles of 1789 and the old colonial system; particularly, the ambitions, jealousies, and interests to be served by the maintenance of the privileged position of the planters. It is diverting, as well as instructive, to observe the shifts to which men like Barnave were put to satisfy these planters, and, at the same time, to show a proper regard for the Declaration of Rights. They solved their problem by deciding that such noble principles were not suitable for export to the colonies. Their changing and hesitant attitude upon the status of the mulattoes and free negroes, due largely to the agitations promoted by the Hôtel Massiac, was responsible, thinks M. Deschamps, for the worst mischiefs in the West Indies. With this exception he criticises favorably the scheme of control devised by the Constituent, believing it far ahead of any system then in existence.

Among the numberless articles on the "Affaire" with which the Paris newspapers regale their readers every day of the week, there are not a few which aim at something higher than to satisfy curiosity or to nurture party and race animosity. Such a comparative study of the administration of military justice in the principal states of the Continent, for instance, as recently appeared in the *Matin*, raises the hope that the great harm done by the whole Dreyfus affair may, in the course of time, be in a measure neutralized by profitable lessons. The writer in the *Matin* shows that in Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy military courts are never exclusively composed of soldiers, but always in part of professional jurists of experience and high standing. In France, on the contrary, no such safeguard exists.

A little treatise, 'Die richtige Aussprache des Musterdeutschen,' by Dr. E. Dannheisser (Heidelberg: J. Gross), is to be recommended to the many earnest students of German in this country who are striving, often with an excessive scrupulosity, after the best pronunciation. It is brief, simple, and practical, and may be advantageously used by itself or in connection with any German grammar.

The *Nineteenth Century* has an article on the International Council of Women, by the Countess of Aberdeen, and the *Fortnightly* discusses the same subject by the pens of Gilbert Parker and of Mrs. Sewall. *Nature* also reports the proceedings of the scientific section of the same congress, which was presided over by Mrs. Ayrton, astronomy being represented by Mlle. Klumpke, head of one of the departments at the Paris Observatory, geology by Miss Raisin of Bedford College, chemistry by Miss Dorothy Marshall of Girton College, bacteriology by Mrs. Percy Frankland, and botany and zoölogy by Miss Ethel Sargent. Miss Ayrton, in the course of her interesting and able address, pointed out that there is an important outlet for the work of women at the present time in the manufacture of electrical instruments, the demand for them being so great that manufacturers are not able to cope with it. The various papers contributed are stated to have been worthy both of their subjects and their authors.

M. Camille Flammarion contributes to the July number of the *Revue des Revues* an article apparently called forth by statements published in many French and foreign papers, to the effect that this eminent scientist has retracted what he formerly published on matters of physical research and occultism. He declares such assertions to be erroneous, and announces

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that he has nearly ready for publication a work entitled 'L'Inconnu,' which will be devoted largely to a scientific analysis of occult phenomena. The article reports a large number of cases which are certainly curious and, to M. Flammarion, seem sufficiently interesting and authentic to deserve serious consideration.

The publisher of the Imperial Free Economic Society of St. Petersburg informs his subscribers that the issue for December, 1898, has been hindered by the Government censor, but will be sent out as soon as the prohibition has been set aside. The word "free" in the name of the society does not seem appropriate.

The preparation for the celebration in 1900, on a grand scale, of the five hundredth anniversary of the birth of Gutenberg, is being energetically pushed by the authorities at Mainz. The scientific 'Festschrift' will contain contributions on Gutenberg and the art of printing, from the best specialists of Germany and elsewhere, and will be an international document of permanent value, edited by Prof. Dr. Velke; while a more popular volume, with especial reference to the history of printing in Mainz, is being prepared by Dr. Bockenheimer. Academic festivities, banquets, historical processions, concerts, public games and plays, and the like, will constitute the chief portion of the public exercises. The German Emperor and the Duke of Hesse will take part in the exercises.

—The "Midsummer Holiday Number" of the *Century* appropriately devotes itself to out-of-door interests. Those who stay in cities may follow Jacob Riis and Police Board President Roosevelt on a Feast Day Pilgrimage through New York's "Little Italy." The lover of wild nature may listen to the birds about Mr. Burroughs's cabin in the woods, the traveller may drink tea all along the Yangtse-Kiang with Eliza Scidmore, visit the Churches of Auvergne with Mrs. Van Rensselaer as guide, live the life of a nomadic Lapp with Jonas Stadling, or, if desirous of a more stirring vacation, may invade India with Alexander the Great under the leadership of Prof. Wheeler. Well-timed, too, for midsummer use are an account of the Kirksville tornado by Mr. Musick, an eye-and-ear witness; Prof. Abbe's brief deliverance on tornadoes, with its appeal for "untouched" photographs; short articles on "Powerful Electrical Discharges," by Prof. Trowbridge, on "The Protection of Electrical Apparatus against Lightning," by Alexander Wurts, and on "Needless Alarm during Thunder-Storms," by Alexander McCabe. An interesting account, by Marion Haskell, of "Negro Spirituals," or religious songs composed by negroes, and Paul Leicester Ford's paper on "The Many-Sided Franklin," make further agreeable August reading. Most striking, if least agreeable, in the account of Franklin's diversified thrift is the evidence of his traffic in indentured servants and slaves, through the medium of his newspaper. Two short papers by Major-Gen. Wood and General Manager Howard furnish experts' views on administrative and industrial matters in Cuba. Mr. Crawford's novel proceeds at leisurely pace. "The Transit of Gloria Mundy" is the sincerest of all tributes to Kipling-and-Dooley, the latest American hybrid. The poetry is of a midsummer calibre; the trail of the languid hammock is over it all if we except Meredith's fantastic "Night Walk" and Herford's delicious verses on the Mole.

—In the *Atlantic* Mr. Riis and Mr. Burroughs are met again, but indoors. The former writes of "The Tenant," and avows his persuasion that the trades-union label and the colonization of the Jew, whether as a farmer or in manufacturing colonies (experiments already promisingly initiated in New Jersey), are to be the sweat-shop's strongest antidote. Mr. Burroughs preaches agreeably against preaching in art. Mr. H. D. Sedgwick, jr., rallies his affections and quotations about Macaulay with a zeal which proves that his scorn of Thackeray did not proceed from the pride of the un-Philistine. Dr. Cunningham writes somewhat half-heartedly of the Peace Congress as an agent of disarmament, but hopefully of "changes in political aims and ambitions" as "doing away with the occasions of international conflict," and calls attention to the dangers arising from "national vanity" and "irresponsible meddlers," whether individuals or sections of a community, "who try to jerk the reins of government at a critical period." The prevention of strife, he concludes, is the key to immunity from concern as to ways of allaying it; and he points to England as leading the way by showing "a genuine unwillingness to take offence." Prince Kropotkin's tenth paper brings him out of prison into England; tells of his connection with the International Workingmen's Association, of the work of that body, including its division after the war of 1870—a division brought about by the "conflict between the Latin spirit and the German *Geist*." He shows portraits of several of his fellow-workers, and a particularly interesting one of Turgeneff. "His Brother's Brother" is the late Mr. John Holmes, and T. W. Higginson bestows on the reader a brief glimpse of that rare spirit.

—In the March number of the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* appears a most interesting paper by Prof. Martin Hartmann of Berlin on the efforts being made to raise the spoken dialect of Egypt to a written language, and to advocate for its expression the modified Latin alphabet invented by Spitta and used by him in his invaluable 'Grammatik des Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten.' We have already noticed this movement, which emanates from Florence (The Landi Press), New York, and Cairo, and the present article shows with what energy it is being carried on and what chances of success it has. The need is clear. In Egypt, as in all Arabic-speaking countries, there are at least two languages. The one, written after a fashion by educated men and spoken in sermons and on public occasions of weight, attempts to reproduce classical Arabic; the other is the spoken language of the people, and is beginning to appear in different forms of popular literature—plays, songs, jests, etc. For the first, the Arabic character is a fairly adequate medium; to the expression of the second, that character, with its lack of vowels and hampering traditions of classical forms, is utterly unequal. Yet the only chance of spreading education in the mass of the people is through the tongue which they speak; and how hopeless it is to attempt that with the Arabic alphabet, will be felt at once by any Arabist who will attack one of the modern plays of Othman Gelal so written. European students of old Arabic require to be equipped with elaborate transliterations and translations to make such skeleton texts—misleading enough in their bones—intelligible to them.

—Prof. Hartmann regards the undertaking as by no means hopeless. The bigoted Muslims of the towns will have little to say to it; but the far less bigoted peasants who, under English rule, are leading a quiet and prosperous life and learning things about and from the unbeliever, will be won over much more easily. The Jews, too, and Coptic Christians will accept it. Curiously enough, he thinks that the Bedawi and semi-Bedawi floating population can be reached with comparative ease. They, as opposed to the Fellahin, are fanatical Muslims, but their religion is not bound up with a written tradition to the extent that holds of the population of the towns. But, for their use, the alphabet will need to be extended, and characters added to represent sounds heard only in the desert. This opinion is of the greatest weight, for few Arabists know the local conditions of Egypt and Syria so well as Prof. Hartmann. And his subject has evidently touched him with enthusiasm; he looks for the movement to spread beyond Egypt, and he especially hails it as a veritable deliverance for those non-Arabic-speaking peoples who use the Arabic character. This last comes close to us; at least it is not so far below our national horizon as it was a year ago. Our wretched complications in the Philippines have brought us face to face with a Muslim population not speaking Arabic, yet using the Arabic script. To deliver them from that would mean almost as much as to deliver them from ourselves.

—Harper & Bros. present us, under title of 'The Letters of Captain Dreyfus to his Wife,' a translation of the collection which appeared in the French as 'Lettres d'un Innocent,' and which Zola solemnly adjured Prime Minister Brisson to read in the company of his wife and children, and then say whether their author was not a martyr. They are undoubtedly moving, and, at this time, their publication cannot but increase the public sympathy for Dreyfus that has now become so strong even in France. Except as documents in a *cause célèbre*, however, they will not be likely to have any permanent value—they are at once too painful and too monotonous. Even as documents they have limitations, as they were written for official scrutiny, and tell little or nothing of the prisoner's life. They are filled with his protestations of innocence, his loyalty to the army and to France that had so foully wronged him, and a continual urging on his wife to clear his honor. Dreyfus's enemies, of course, say that this is all posing; his partisans, that it is all sincerity, and increases the presumption in his favor. With the latter view we concur. But it is curious to note his frequently expressed belief that there was a real traitor, somewhere, for whom he had been mistaken, and whose discovery was as essential as his own vindication—whereas, out of all the confused evidence so far published, proof of definite acts of treason between French officers and an enemy country seems alone wanting, while of domestic forgery, plotting, and general scoundrelism there is no end. The Dreyfus case long ago assumed an importance in French history so profound that the man about whom these passions were raging sank to an abstraction.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This book restores the personal element to the drama; and to the picture it gives of the victim's tortured spirit should have been added the photograph in *Harper's Weekly* of his wasted figure ascending the gangplank of the *Sfax*.

—Unless we happen to stumble upon Mezhov's bibliography with the titles of more than twenty thousand books and articles on Siberia, we hardly think of that country as one which has been much written about. However, with its recent rapid development, and the more frequent visits of western travellers, the available literature on the subject is becoming copious. 'En Sibérie' (Paris: Colin), by Jules Legras, is the tale of a journey along the usual route from Europe to the Pacific at Vladivostok, with a few side excursions; but the author, in spite of his modest disclaimer in the preface (in spite, too, of a little too much personal narrative), has given us more than the notes of a mere globe-trotter. He was charged with an official mission by the French Government to investigate the colonization of the territory he went through, and, although he has reserved the results of his labors for a later, more serious work, the present one contains not a little interesting information. The general impression we get from it corresponds with the one we had previously obtained from travel and from books. Siberia is a country with a rather unattractive history and character of its own, but its conditions and population are being rapidly changed beyond recognition by the flood of newcomers pouring into it, as well as by the opening up of its resources. Although it presents many obstacles of different sorts, its possibilities of development seem almost unlimited. As for the central government and local officials, they appear at one moment the indispensable agents of civilization and progress, at another as doing their best to hinder them. Mr. Legras writes with great frankness about what he saw and what, thanks to his knowledge of Russian due to a previous visit in the empire, he heard and understood as well as saw. His opinion of the Siberians is not complimentary; he finds them lazy, selfish, unlovable, and particularly untruthful. "If I put aside the friends who gave me faithful information, I could count on my fingers the men I have not caught in the act of flagrant deceit. Oh! the offensive and useless flood of lies. They lie behind my back, not suspecting that a mirror is betraying the impostor; they lie when by me, not suspecting that I have an acute sense of hearing and catch asides; they lie in my presence, not suspecting that in my hands are written proofs of their duplicity. They lie with naïveté, with subtlety, or with cynicism, as the case may be; they lie with a caress of their eyes and of their hand."

—At the opening meeting of the International Conference of Hybridization, held under the auspices of the Royal Horticultural Society, at Chiswick, Dr. Maxwell Masters gave an address on the artificial hybridization of plants. This was first practised in the early part of the eighteenth century by Thomas Fairchild, one of whose descendants was present as an American delegate. Fairchild produced a cross between a sweet-william and a carnation pink which is still cultivated. Reference was made to the singular prejudice against the practice, hybridists being accused of "contravening the laws of Providence." This objection was met by Dean Herbert, who, having found in the Pyrenees a narcissus growing between two narcissi of similar character, proved it to be a hybrid. He produced a similar one, and asked why he should be blamed for doing what nature had done. Still, this remarkable prejudice persisted to such an extent that florists, rather than exhibit plants as hybrids, described those raised in their own nurseries as coming from "the Cape," or elsewhere. Another objection to hybridization on the part of some botanists is that it upsets their "systems" and creates confusion as to species and genera. There was a time when "species" was considered a sacrosanct thing, but the researches of Darwin and others have changed all that, and no definite line of demarcation between species, genera, or varieties can be drawn. Dr. Masters believes that the experiments of hybridists are not only advancing science, but adding to the welfare of humanity. H. J. Webber of the United States Department of Agriculture described, at the second meeting, some attempts to produce a hardier variety of orange, that would be less likely than the Florida orange to be cut off by frost. Experiments have been made to produce hybrids between the American orange and the Japanese, which begins to flower just as the blossoms of the cultivated kind are disappearing. It is hoped to produce a variety which will be retarded a little in flowering, and thus escape the spring frosts. Experiments are also making with the Tangerine orange, to effect a combination of its loose rind with the superior qualities of the American orange. Limes, lemons, and pineapples have been the subjects of experiments in hybridization, and the Department is trying to improve cotton by means of hybrids between the upland and the Sea Island kinds.

TRAVELS AND POLITICS IN THE NEAR EAST.

Travels and Politics in the Near East. By William Miller. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 1899.

The affairs of southeastern Europe have had a fascination for Mr. Miller, which found expression in his excellent work, entitled 'The Balkans,' in the "Story of the Nations" series, already reviewed in these columns. That complex of peoples and states whose shifting composition eludes the grasp and dazzles the eye of the observer, has found the closest of students in Mr. Miller, who has habituated himself to regard each feature in this bewildering panorama according to its intrinsic quality, eschewing the time-honored standpoint of the Englishman intent solely on unravelling the mysteries of the Eastern question with reference to the future prospects of Britain. Extensive journeys through the picturesque regions that constitute the mighty Ottoman Empire of old, combined with a vast amount of reading and intercourse with public men of various nationalities, have familiarized the author in a rare degree with this mosaic of the Near East, and, while waiting for the kaleidoscope to make another turn, he has given the public the benefit of his observations in a very charming volume of more than 500 octavo pages.

Of the fourteen chapters into which the book is divided, Bosnia (with Herzegovina) and Greece each claim two, and one is allotted to each of the following subjects: Istria and Dalmatia, Montenegro, the Sanjak of Novibazar, the Albanian Coast and Corfu, Crete under the "Concert," Samos, Macedonia, Stambul, Bulgaria, and "The Great Powers in the Near East." The kingdoms of Servia and Rumania, it will be seen, are not specifically dealt with in these pages, but the former enters largely into the treatment of political and economic topics, and the latter is naturally not overlooked in the discussion of the Balkan question as a whole. Mr. Miller made four visits to the Balkan countries between 1894 and 1898, in three of which he was accompanied by his wife, and he extended his journeys into Asia Minor. Nothing appears to have escaped the ubiquitous range of his observation. He is equally master of his pen, whether depicting the wondrous charms of the Dalmatian coastland, or descanting upon the advantages of new and prospective railway lines, or portraying racial peculiarities.

Mr. Miller surveys his chosen domain with an impartial eye, not being an enthusiastic admirer, as he says in his preface, of any one Balkan race to the exclusion of all others. His pleasure at the release of Bulgaria from the Turkish yoke does not make him blind to the vices which stand in the way of her political advancement, nor does his detestation of the Turk as a ruler prevent him from appreciating his virtues as a man. The country whose condition has most favorably impressed our author is Bosnia (or, more properly, Bosnia and Herzegovina), which he styles the "model Balkan state." The twenty years of Austro-Hungarian occupation have wrought a complete transformation here. From the position of a semi-mediæval Turkish province, groaning under oppression and rent by religious animosities (the Slavic Bosniaks are among the most zealous of Mussulmans), Bosnia has suddenly emerged into the light of civilization and become a well-ordered, prosperous, and contented country. As an illustration of the rate at which it is being modernized, we need do no more than refer to the statement on page 153, to the effect that the excursion trains running from Sarayevo to a neighboring pleasure resort have a special van for bicycles alongside of a car reserved for Mussulman women. The description which Mr. Miller gives of this lovely borderland between West and East opens up a delightful vista to the tourist in quest of virgin soil. Boundless praise is lavished upon Baron Kállay for his efficient administration of this region, and upon his charming wife, who has so zealously seconded his efforts.

Bosnia's little neighbor, Montenegro, to whom nature seems to have denied everything save her rocky fastnesses, is, in Mr. Miller's eye, a land not without signs of promise. He has faith in her simple and sturdy, though rude, mountain folk, who for five centuries have bidden defiance to the Crescent ranks; and he is above all impressed with the sagacity and patriotic virtues, not to say shrewdness, of Prince Nicholas, "even by the admission of his severest critics, the ablest of Balkan sovereigns." This "patriarchal autocrat," who "most emphatically knows on which side his bread is buttered," and who has seen himself and his little principality suddenly exalted through the marriage of his

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

daughter to the future King of Italy, is winning distinguished laurels as a Slav poet. Montenegro is advancing on the path of progress, a hilly road to travel, up which she is being helped by both Russia and Austria. The former extends a kind of godmotherly care over the tiny state, in which her calculating eye fondly sees an advance post of Muscovy on the Adriatic.

Much less refreshing than his account of Bosnia and Montenegro is the picture which Mr. Miller draws of the political condition of Bulgaria, a country resurrected from a bondage of five hundred years, and bidden by the Powers to move forward with the eyes of the world fastened upon her. This peasant state *par excellence*, as the author calls her, has run through a mad course of political evolution since its new machinery was set in motion. Already the theory of public spoils, the clean sweep, railroad jobbery, and all the concomitants of a representative system which has no roots in the past, have become firmly intrenched, while the methods and expedients of the executive power, as depicted by the unprejudiced pen of Mr. Miller, are worthy of the Spanish republics of the South. No wonder that, after inhaling the perfumes of the far-famed rose-gardens of Kazanlik, sixty ounces of whose distilled fragrance sells for a hundred pounds sterling, Mr. Miller cannot help exclaiming, "If only Bulgaria had no politics, that curse of the small Balkan States!" It is some consolation to be told that Prince Ferdinand, that accomplished trimmer, is thoroughly unpopular with his subjects. In Servia, as well as in Bulgaria, parliamentary elections have been "reduced to a farce."

It is a strange irony of history that a people so long held in bondage as the Bulgarians should have such "fantastic notions of its own dignity" as our author had occasion to observe. The question of domestic servants, he tells us, is "far more acute in Bulgaria than even in London." "The natives are so independent that it is difficult to engage them to work for wages." All thoughtful people whom Mr. Miller met during his stay in that country "agreed in pointing out the danger of over-education for Bulgaria," the threatened result (the same as in the case of Greece, according to the writer) being "the growth of a class of professional politicians from among the briefless lawyers, hungry doctors, and discontented teachers produced by the Bulgarian schools." With regard to the amenities of travel, the "Bulgarian Switzerland" is anything but a tourists' paradise. The peasant innkeepers are "honesty itself," but they have nothing to offer in the way of food or cleanly comfort. The effect of new political conditions, however, and of the establishment of railroad routes is visible in Sofia and Philippopolis, which have blossomed out into modern cities.

The author was in Greece at the time of the recent war, and the chapters devoted to that kingdom, conceived in perhaps too journalistic a vein, will to many readers prove the most interesting part of the book. He presents us with a pretty picture of the reign of the spoils system at Athens. There is no country in the world, according to Mr. Miller, in which politics have such a fascination for the common people as in Greece. The Athenians are still the Athenians of old in their eagerness to hear what is going on. The very newsboys devour the political articles in the journals while hawking them about in the streets.

Mr. Miller's journeyings in the dominions of the Sultan have convinced him that the Turkish government is utterly and hopelessly rotten. He has nothing to say, indeed, against the character of the Turkish people. "The plain Turk of the country districts," he would have us know, "is honest enough; upon that all are agreed." In the concluding chapter we read: "No one can help admiring the devotion of the true Mussulman to his religion, a devotion which puts to shame many Christians. . . . He points out, sometimes with no little justice, that the simple life of the East is better than the degraded existence of many of our great cities." But the author finds no words of condemnation too severe for the official class (whose sins, he admits, belong rather to the system than to the man) and the methods pursued by the central Government. "The secret-service fund amounts to £2,000,000 a year, and from six hundred to seven hundred reports are sent in by spies to the Sultan every day."

In refreshing contrast to the pages devoted to Turkish maladministration is an account of a visit to Brusa, in Asia Minor, the capital of Sultan Orkhan, in the early days of the Ottoman Empire, which, according to Mr. Miller himself, is at least one oasis in this *gran diserto*, "an excellent example of what Turkey might be under a wise government." Speaking of the approach to this place from the Sea of Marmora, he remarks: "Here you might be in Southern Europe. On either side a rich and fertile land stretches out before you, a land of wine and olives, cultivated by a bright and cheerful peasantry, who greet the train as it slowly turns and turns on its way up the hillside." Brusa, through the energetic foresight of its governor, escaped the horrors of the Armenian massacres.

Mr. Miller enters into a minute analysis of the Macedonian question, "perhaps the most dangerous problem which the statesmen of Europe will have to face in the near future." Servia, Bulgaria, and Greece are each waiting to pounce down upon this region, which presents a labyrinthine jumble of nationalities. There is also a Rumanian propaganda, based on the presence of a considerable Ruman, or Wallach, element in the Macedonian population; and even the Albanians appear to have started a separate organization in the region, a people who have hitherto been "content to remain subjects of a Power which did not interfere with their 'legitimate' occupation of cutting each other's and their neighbors' throats."

In the chapter entitled "The Great Powers in the Near East," which is the concluding section of the volume, Mr. Miller discusses in a vigorous but dispassionate manner the possibilities in the way of a settlement of the affairs of the Balkan Peninsula. He confesses that he has been weaned from the belief expressed in his recently published history, that a Balkan confederation might be a solution of the great problem that so persistently confronts Europe. His travels and talks have persuaded him that political rivalries and jealousies preclude such a consummation. The Serb has no love for the Bulgarian, the Bulgarian has no faith in the Ruman, and Greece is centred on herself. Albania is a stumbling-block in the way of any settlement. The idea that a solution might still be found in the rehabilitation of Turkey, a Turkey regenerated by reforms, is dismissed after due consideration as an idle dream. "Of all the futile nostrums," says our author, "prescribed for the salvation of Turkey, that of 'reforms' is the worst." He sees no unravelment of this awful tangle until Austria-Hungary and Russia step forward and cut the Gordian knot. Russia will not rest until she obtains possession of Constantinople, and she will have to share the spoils with Austria by allowing her to reach down to Salonica and establish herself on the Ægean. This, the only conceivable solution in the author's eyes, is not put forward as by any means a satisfactory consummation, nor does he pretend to see how it is to come about. The inspiring spectacle presented by Bosnia and Herzegovina at the present time has completely won Mr. Miller over to Austria-Hungary, but the prospect of Russia established on the Bosphorus, intent upon the benevolent assimilation of the neighboring peoples, is to him far from a cheerful one. Not that he is in special dread of Russian power in the Levant—that fear, he admits, has been minimized by the hold that England has secured upon Egypt—but, to Mr. Miller, Russia is Russia still, and he doubts (page 507) whether the substitution of Russian for Turkish rule on the Bosphorus would be an advantage to the people governed. He does not think that Rumania would help Russia a second time in her march towards Constantinople, the Bessarabian steal of 1878 never having been forgiven; and as for Bulgaria, although Prince Ferdinand has thrown himself into the arms of the Czar, he has not succeeded in making his subjects overcome the aversion which the outrageous intermeddling of Russia in their affairs has excited. Altogether the picture drawn by our author, who is no pessimist, of the political condition and prospects of the Near East is not a bright one to contemplate.

Mr. Miller is convinced that the Ottoman Empire is doomed, but to say that its downfall is necessarily close at hand he believes would be a rash assertion. Europe will not plunge lightly into the seething vortex of the Balkan East; and, while the problems of the Far East and of Africa engage the Powers, no one can tell how long the death-agony of the Turk may be prolonged. The author hopes fervently that the great state whose destinies are bound up with those of the Balkan Peninsula may survive the perils that threaten its dissolution. He considers that no greater catastrophe could befall Europe than the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

Mr. Miller denounces in unstinted terms the apathy which the English nation has displayed in recent years with respect to the course of events in the Sultan's dominions and the conditions affecting British trade in those regions. He is not afraid to let the world know that all respect for the British flag in the Levant is at an end. "Orientals," he says, "despise people who talk and do not act, and the threats offered to the Sultan, followed by absolute inaction, have enormously damaged our prestige in the Near East." The supineness of the British in the matter of their commercial interests is contrasted with the activity of the Germans, who appear to be ousting their competitors on every side. Mr. Miller is shocked, it is true, at the strange

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lengths to which Germany is willing to go in her eagerness to gobble up the Turkish market, and he speaks of the Kaiser as "a commercial traveller whose journeys are utilized for the propagation of German trade."

The volume is profusely illustrated with reproductions of photographs, but we regret to say that they reflect but little credit on the half-tone process. There is a comprehensive folding map on the generous scale of twenty-five miles to the inch. The reader who does not familiarize himself with the short table of phonetic values in the preface and keep the equivalents constantly in mind, will stumble hopelessly over the pronunciation of the proper names. Our familiar "Maritza," for example, figures as "Marica." We shall take leave of this valuable book by pointing out a slip on page 365, where the capture of Salonica by Tancred is stated to have occurred seven centuries ago instead of eight.

FISHER'S MEDIÆVAL EMPIRE.

The Mediæval Empire. By Herbert Fisher. 2 vols. Macmillan Co. 1898.

Among the many good things in this important work, one of the best is a characterization of the discrepancies which existed between the *soi-disant* Roman Empire of the Middle Ages and genuine classical Romanism. Mr. Fisher is not content with recalling, in his first sentence, Voltaire's celebrated saying that the Empire was well named save in the three respects of being neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire. In his concluding remarks he returns to the same idea, except that this time he is regarding the mediæval instead of the eighteenth-century state:

"The Saxon king of a rude race of peasants is required to conserve and to appreciate a conception of government moulded by the genius of the Latin races in a climate of Roman law and Roman religion, and saturated with the spirit of Roman autocracy, that last and most refined distillation of the aristocratic pride of a great city. A barbarian, living in a condition of affable equality with his fellow-tribesmen, is asked to posture as the descendant of Augustus, the masterful and subtle, as the coequal of those Greek rulers for whose elaborate court Constantine Porphyrogenitus wrote his massive and curious book upon ceremonies. Yet the difference between the courts of Constantinople and Tribur was as great as that between the court of Versailles, as it was known to the Duc de Luynes, and the Highland home of Fergus M'Ivor, as Sir Walter Scott describes it in 'Waverley'; and the idea of the Roman Empire as it was printed upon the Saxon brain of the tenth century, no more reflects the ancient classical conception than the Venus of Botticelli in the Uffizi Gallery renders the spirit of ancient Hellenic art."

Eventually the Hohenstauffen emperors grasped the autocratic, imperial idea, but that was only after Romanism, in an ecclesiastical solution, had been filtered through mediæval society for centuries, after legal studies had revived at Bologna, and after a close connection between Germany and Italy had been established.

Apart from an opening chapter on the "Survival of the Imperial Idea," Mr. Fisher's essay deals with the period between Otto I. and Frederick II. Had he entered at large upon the subject of Charlemagne's empire, it is possible that he would have found something truly Roman in the imperial progresses and in the institution of *missi dominici*. But beginning, as he really does, with the rise of Saxon power and the restoration of 962, he must perforce deal with pure Teutonism masquerading in a Roman domino, until he reaches those sovereigns who cared more for Italian politics than they did for the broils of their own "yellow Germany." Altogether, the greater part of these two volumes is devoted to German affairs, though in the last 150 pages the Italian element is duly accentuated.

Coming rather more to detail, we can best indicate the scope of Mr. Fisher's treatise by comparing it with Bryce's 'Holy Roman Empire,' because the latter book now holds the field in English, and is thoroughly well known to all historical students. In purpose there is not nearly so much conflict between the two as one might suppose from merely glancing at Mr. Fisher's title. Being very evidently a man of sense, the later historian recognizes that nothing is to be gained by writing, after Bryce, a general sketch of the imperial theory and its results. He fills in for a single, clearly defined era (and that the distinctively mediæval one), the outlines which Bryce has rapidly but firmly traced. To secure clearness he treats Germany and Italy separately, considering Germany in its imperial aspects first. Here he begins by examining the state of the country at the outset of the tenth century, and then, excluding Lotharingia and Burgundy, proceeds to

"the problem created by the affinities and antagonisms of the four German races, with a view to discovering how far these antagonisms and affinities tended to obstruct and further the imperial mission. It then seemed best to consider the resources and work of the empire in Germany, its influence on law, on administration, on constitutional and financial growth; and, in order to exhibit its work in proper proportions, and to throw additional light upon the causes of its downfall, chapters are added upon the German nobility, upon the expansion of Germany, and upon the German Church."

Reaching in his second part Italian affairs, Mr. Fisher dwells chiefly upon imperial legislation and administration, upon "the relations of the emperors with the city of Rome," and upon "the reciprocal influence of German and Italian culture." In this brief epitome we have enumerated almost every leading topic which he presents, for each chapter is a special, self-contained study, and might have been printed in the *English Historical Review* without creating in one's mind a sense of incompleteness. Yet while each is a separate essay, the union of parts is so skilfully effected that a reader of the whole work need not complain of abruptness in transition. At only two points does Mr. Fisher invade Bryce's frontier, namely, in his opening chapter on the imperial idea, and in his chapter on the city of Rome. Nor can he be said ever to echo his distinguished predecessor. The praise which is due independent research, independent reflection, and strong writing, can and must be freely accorded to Mr. Fisher.

It may seem that we make a purely arbitrary division when we set the chapters of this work which relate to Germany over against those which relate to Italy. If we do so it is because the former portion is, in our judgment, the better of the two. In so far as he is indebted to modern authors—and his acknowledgments are generous—Mr. Fisher depends largely upon Germans even where his subjects are Italian. There can be, of course, no possible objection to this procedure when a just balance is preserved between original sources and recent literature. We have gathered, perhaps too hastily, that Mr. Fisher's familiarity with German *Quellen* is greater than with Italian. That he should use Ficker's 'Forschungen' for his account of Italian administration, Gregorovius for his chapter on Rome, and Gaspary for his notice of early Italian literature, is no more surprising than that he should rely on Schröder and Stobbe for German law, on Reizler for Bavaria, and on Giesebrecht for the mediæval empire at large. But our impression is incorrect if he has not devoted more attention to Pertz's *M. G. H. et al.* than to Muratori's *R. I. S. et al.* Whereas at times we have felt a passage in the Italian division to be comparatively thin, we have found Mr. Fisher's disquisition on German subjects at once solid and mature.

Among German topics, those which have been approached most seriously are imperial legislation, the imperial court, and imperial finance. It is not too much to infer from an allusion at the end of the introduction that Maitland's stimulating writings directed Mr. Fisher's attention towards problems of mediæval law and administration. Wherever the influence of that great scholar takes root, it speedily becomes fruitful of thoroughness and of new ideas. We cannot better indicate the character of the three chapters named above, than by saying that they are worthy products of the Maitland school, or, in other words, that they are accurate and suggestive. A clear instance of the Cambridge professor's influence is furnished by Mr. Fisher's study of the law of inheritance as associated with the imperial court. We make no hint of undue subservience. The influence exercised is of that kind which an unusual scholar and thinker must always have over the most independent minds.

Such subjects as legislation and finance do not admit of picturesque or animated treatment, but the theme with which the first volume closes, viz., "The Empire and German Nobility," does. Here Mr. Fisher introduces several graphic touches, and indicts the mediæval *proceres* in severe though justly deserved terms. The anonymous biographer of the Emperor Henry IV., in an epigram worthy of Tacitus, thus satirizes the freebooting barons whom a state of enforced peace had brought to penury: "Mira res, nec minus ridicula; alii injurias suas injuriis vindicant, imperator suas pace vindicabat." It may well be doubted whether this particular Emperor maintained the public security thus perfectly, but beyond question what the mediæval noble of Germany most loathed was the strong hand which did justice and preserved order. Von Raumer's valiant and disinterested princes are for the most part figments of a fanciful or patriotic imagination, while Mr. Fisher's charges of scandalous selfishness are alike clear and damaging.

"The German nobility possessed a perfect genius for disobedience and treachery. They would ally themselves with Bohemians and Slavs, with Danes and Italians, as it might serve their turn. Restrained by no considerations of patriotism, softened by no tincture of culture, swayed by rudimentary passions, simple, violent, and gross, they would neglect all the higher calls of citi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

zenship to serve their greedy ends. Only occasionally a great cause swayed them, and, fired with the pride of race or bowed to the mastery of a gorgeous dream, they spent their lives nobly in the arid highlands of Asia Minor, or in the malarious paradise of Italy, yet the thickest strand of their existence was woven with cruelty, and perfidy, and vice; and when the mailed heroes of Germany rode off to the Crusade, the monk and the peasant breathed a sigh of relief, and tranquillity returned to the land."

We have a small list of errors to bring against Mr. Fisher, although in reading his pages we have observed few serious misstatements of fact. Vol. i., p. 24, "the first letter of Stephen to Charles Martel in 752" is spoken of, and again on p. 44 the phrase appears, "letters such as Stephen III. wrote to Charles Martel." Doubtless in both these cases Pippin was intended for Charles Martel. Vol. i., p. 35, and again on p. 51, the date 842 is assigned to the Treaty of Verdun, on what authority we cannot imagine, for it seems very decisively settled that the Strassburg Oaths were sworn in 842 and the great partition of territory arranged in 843. Vol. i., p. 70: here once more a chronological slip appears, in the case of a Merovingian sovereign—"The Frankish king Chlotaire III. (*620*-660)." On pp. 101-2, vol. i., occurs a somewhat amusing error. "It might have been expected that the royal hold over Saxony would be relaxed as soon as a non-Saxon dynasty came to the throne. But it must be remembered that Conrad the Second, the first king of the Franconian house, was the great-grandson of the daughter of *Otto the Third*, and that he, like his predecessor, confirmed the Saxon law upon his accession." Vol. i., p. 136: a double mistake occurs in the account of the imperial election which took place on the death of Henry V.—"The Franconians murmured at the appointment of a Saxon, and attempted to substitute Conrad, the cousin of the late Emperor." Probably Mr. Fisher, when writing thus, had Frederick of Swabia in mind, not his younger brother, the future Emperor Conrad III.; but both of these important persons were sons of Agnes, the sister of Henry V. A few lines further on, the date of Conrad III.'s accession is given 1139 instead of 1138, contrary to the date correctly assigned in the chronological table of popes and emperors which is placed at the end of the first volume. A further instance of discrepancy between text and table is furnished on the same page, 1126 appearing in the text and 1125 in the table for the death of Henry V. Vol. ii., p. 127: "Gregory *the Great* deposed an emperor, and struck hard at the two most ingrained abuses of German clerical life, simony and marriage." The title in question is applied to Gregory I., not to Gregory VII. Vol. ii., p. 255: The line

"Ahi serva Italia, di dolore ostello,"

and the two lines immediately following it, are no part of "Sordello's cry to Dante," but an interjection of the poet's own, as may be seen from the succeeding tercet:

"Quell' anima gentil fu così presta," etc.

Vol. ii., p. 259: "Not a city but fabricates for itself some legendary connection with the ancient world. Padua shows the tomb of Antinor, Milan the statue of Hercules, Fiesole looks back to Catiline." The case of Catiline and Fiesole rests on quite a different basis from the other two cited. Finally, we quote a passage, vol. ii., p. 271, which seems to us quite singular. By way of illustrating the bitterness of the thirteenth-century *sirvente*, Mr. Fisher makes an extremely apt reference:

"Barons of Lombardy and Rome and Apulia,
And Tuscans and Romagnese and men of the March,
Florence the flower which renews itself,
Call you to her court,
For she wishes to make herself King of the Tuscans
Now that she has conquered the Germans and the Siennese by force."

"So," Mr. Fisher comments, "sung Guittone d'Arezzo after the Florentine victory at Monteaperto in 1260, with all his rough vigor." Waiving the point that Mr. Fisher's spelling of the battle is not one which Dante approves (*vide* Inf. xxxii., 81, ed. Witte), his reference to the "Florentine victory" removes the sting from the *sirvente*, leaving his quotation flat as decanted Apollinaris. This is not an ordinary slip, and we find difficulty in imagining how it crept into the text.

It is a reviewer's duty to register the errors which he observes, otherwise we should not have mentioned these, for Mr. Fisher's erudition and ability have impressed themselves upon us much more strongly than shortcomings of any kind whatever. Were this "a product of American scholarship" we could avow the fact proudly, nor should less grudging praise be accorded a work which shows the present vigor of historical studies at Oxford.

The Break-up of China. By Lord Charles Beresford. Harper & Brothers.

Ever since 1860, when a few thousand English and French troops exposed the military helplessness of China, but more particularly since 1894, when Japan annihilated the only real soldiers China had, the Middle Kingdom has given strong evidences of approaching dissolution. The signs multiply hourly that the "boneless giant" is more of a carcass than a body capable of self-protection. The eagles are flying from every land, and the symptoms found within, or the signs emanating from, the subject are all those of the moribund. Rebellions and disorders, an empty treasury, and approaching bankruptcy; utter lack of mental initiative on the part of China's statesmen, who cannot see what is coming; the concessions, loans, leases, and gifts of land under pressure of war-ships and armies; the fastening upon the national vitals by aliens who claim the land on which they have settled as virtual portions of distant sovereignties in Europe; the inability to purge out internal morbidness, or to shake off blood-sucking parasites, are all proofs of the hopelessness of the recovery of "the sick man in the Far East."

China, at least the China hitherto known to history, has apparently run her race. Yet Lord Charles Beresford, whom we all remember as the dashing naval commander at Alexandria, and who has seen Egypt become a virtual British dependency, did not go to China to be in at the death. Indeed, between title and text of his book there is paradox, if not contradiction. He believes, or professes to believe, that China can be saved and kept a unit. He went out as a representative of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Great Britain, in an entirely unofficial character, to learn the actual situation in China. He arrived at Hong Kong September 30, 1898, and remained in China until January 9 of this present year, visiting every place where British communities reside. He convened meetings and discussed the whole situation, asking and answering questions. He interviewed the leading magistrates, seeing six out of the eight viceroys of the great provinces. He entered the precincts of the Tsung-li-Yamen, where he sat at the table with a body of men who are probably the most profoundly erudite, and the most densely ignorant, of all the so-called statesmen in the world. With the exception of three military mobs termed "armies," he inspected the armed forces of China, and himself put the troops through various movements. He visited every fort and arsenal with one exception, all the naval and military schools, the ships of both Chinese fleets, and the one dock-yard which China possesses. On his way home he passed leisurely through Japan and the United States, to which he devotes some chapters. Between the British merchant who says "Speak out," and the British financier who says "Speak gently," Lord Beresford has uttered the truth as he believed it, frankly and without reserve. From the first to the last page, he urges that the policy of Great Britain should be that of the "open door." He contends vigorously always against the so-called "spheres of influence."

Lord Beresford's report makes a book of nearly five hundred pages of thick paper, with large print. He does not conceal his meaning and desire for an Anglo-American alliance. In the bright and gay stamp, upon the yellow binding, of the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack, these two emblems stand staff to staff, with the yellow flag of China beneath, on which a four-legged, five-toed, red-bellied dragon is trying to swallow a red sun. Whether that sun-ball will be most easily digested if marked "open door," or "spheres of influence," remains to be seen, for China's dragon at present seems to be blind. Besides a voluminous appendix of reports of the various meetings in China, an index, and two portraits of the author, there are two maps, one showing the waterways and trade routes of China, and the other the proposed or completed railways, the location of beds of iron, coal, and minerals, with tables of the area and population of the provinces.

The report is in the brisk, straightforward language of a sailor and man of affairs. In his power to make commercial, trade, and statistical matters interesting, the author reminds us of Mr. Gladstone. The abundant information given is of the first order of value to one who would know the actual China of to-day. British commerce, once the only occupant of the field, has now to face competition and adverse political influences, yet sixty-four per cent. of the foreign trade of China still remains under the British flag. The merchants, as individuals and associated in Chambers of Commerce, were a unit in urging that the "open-door" policy ought to be maintained, and that it was the only one that would save the integrity of the Empire. On the other hand, when the author tells us about the Chinese and their rulers, and gives the results of his inquiries and inspections, we have a most pitiful and monotonous story of corruption, weakness, wastefulness, and inability to know the real needs of the nation, to read the signs of the times, or to understand the dangers, both internal and external. There is an apparent paralysis of the power of initiative. All foreigners agree with the author that China's first requisite is a good

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

police system for maintaining domestic tranquillity. Then must follow a reorganization of the military and naval forces to protect the country from foreign enemies. To show the difference between Japan, which, as to proportions of population and area of domain, is as a pigmy, but which in unity of purpose is an athlete, and China, which, though a giant, is a helpless hulk, Japan, with a population of 42,000,000, had a foreign trade last year of $444,000,000, while China's foreign trade was only $495,000,000. Yet the Chinese mandarins are still drawing large sums from the treasury to feed, clothe, and equip "armies" which are chiefly on paper, being in actual existence little more than skeletons. For dress parade and inspection, coolies are hired by the day to fill up the ranks. In the arsenals, equipped with costly machinery, the mandarins will have their way. They manufacture jingals instead of artillery of the latest model. The infantry are armed with rifles of a dozen different patterns. The use of bows and arrows is not only still warmly commended, but is in actual practice by soldiers who are expected to fight men with rifles that can kill at two thousand yards. In a word, it seems almost impossible for the average mandarin to rise out of the ruts of a thousand years.

While Lord Beresford intelligently urges the open-door policy—on which Lord Salisbury seems to have turned his back since the book was put in type—as the cure for the old Empire's troubles, he does not tell us how the Chinese character is to be made over or the tide of corruption stemmed. Who, or what, is to open the eyes of the Chinese, or give them moral stimulus or the power of mental initiative? We need a book that will satisfactorily answer that question. This, certainly, is the fact, that in Japan the man of letters was also a soldier. Furthermore, while the central idea in Chinese ethics is filial piety, that of the Japanese is loyalty. The Japanese are more than a race, they form a nation. That the Chinese do is more than doubtful. It is possible for China to become self-reformed, but with only her ethical system, from which the tap-root of aspiration was cut ages ago, it is hard to see how her regeneration can come, either under the "open-door" or the "spheres of influence." Something more than politics must save her.

The Great Lord Burghley: A Study in Elizabethan Statecraft. By Martin A. S. Hume. Longmans, Green & Co. 1898.

The present Bishop of Oxford says jocularly, in the preface to a volume of collected addresses, that he cannot imagine why he is printing them unless it may be because he has grown addicted to the reading of proof-sheets. Major Hume, too, must have had his share of revising proofs during the past three years, for in that time he has published five or six historical books. These we have welcomed with real pleasure, both for their mastery of Elizabethan and Spanish subjects and for the liveliness with which they are written. Nor would we hint that their author is now producing literature at too fast a pace. If we mention his prolific energy here, it is for the sake of drawing a comparison between the present biography and his other numerous works. We should probably go beyond the mark were we to call Burghley one of Major Hume's heroes, but he holds the Elizabethan statesman in marked respect, and devotes to him the most elaborate study which, so far as we have seen, has yet issued from his pen.

One cannot deal with Burghley on a small scale. The materials which he left his biographers are enormous, and if Nares erred on the one side in producing a series of quartos which weighs sixty pounds, the shortcomings of the epitomist are almost equally glaring, though they may not be so ludicrous. According to the scale of modern memoirs—*e. g.*, Lord Selborne's autobiography—the 500 octavo pages of Major Hume are indeed but a moderate book. For one surrounded as he has long been by the ample records of Burghley's time, verbal restraint must be difficult, even with a fresh remembrance of Macaulay's satire against the Brobdingnagian propensities of Dr. Nares. Considering that among the Lansdowne MSS. at the British Museum there are 122 folio volumes of Burghley's papers, and that Lord Salisbury's collection at Hatfield comprises 30,000 documents, any sketch of the man's career which can be contained in one volume is reasonably compact. Just as a life of Sir Robert Peel means interminable Hansard, a life of Lord Burghley means interminable dispatches.

The clearness which is characteristic of Major Hume's literary style is also noticeable in what he says concerning his attitude towards Burghley. He regards Elizabeth's Lord Treasurer neither as a "demigod," nor as a statesman of the highest class, nor as a high ethical example. He even professes that our modern moral standards are out of place in judging the acts of Tudor politicians. It was during Burghley's age that the majority of the English nation "cheerfully changed their faith four times in a generation to please their rulers," and therefore it would be

"absurd to hold up to especial obloquy a minister for having persecuted at one time a religion which at another time he professed. The final triumph of England in that struggle of giants was won by statesmen who, like their mistress, owed as much to what we should now call their failings as they did to their virtues. Their vacillation and tergiversation in the face of rigid and stolid opponents were main elements of their success. Cecil was by far the most honest and patriotic of them, but he, too, was a man of his age, and must be judged from its standpoint—not from that of to-day."

For purposes of this review, the domestic relations and even the social qualities of Burghley are largely negligible, but apropos of the vast wealth which he accumulated and of his other canny traits, we must cite Mr. Hume's estimate of his egotism when viewed side by side with his public duty. It is, that country came before family. "The first cause he served was that of the State, the second was William Cecil and his house. Through a long life of ceaseless toil and rigid self-control, these were the mainsprings of his activity and devotion." Moreover, we should emphasize the sense of personal dignity which, at a time of almost universal pilfering and blackmail, kept him above suspicion of bribery. When regarding the rights and wrongs of public questions, he showed the disinterested temper of a jurist, and under other circumstances he might readily have developed into a great judge.

As a royal councillor, Major Hume considers that Burghley checked much of Elizabeth's flightiness and created in her mind a salutary confidence. "When passion or persuasion led her into a dangerous course, as they frequently did, she knew that Cecil, sagacious, and steady as a rock, would advise her honestly." At the outset he had become a member of the advanced Protestant party surrounding Somerset, and though only by wariness he escaped his first patron's fall, and was often forced in later days to trim his sails, he clung to Protestantism for what it meant politically. On the other hand he dreaded France, however governed—even by the Béarnais—and inclined towards a Spanish connection whenever the religious issues which were respectively typified by the English and Spanish governments could be forced into the background.

Historically, Burghley's attitude towards France and Spain is very interesting, for it was not merely a personal fancy, or a prejudice which he had derived from his surroundings. He had inherited it as a tradition of statecraft from the early years of the fifteenth century, when England and Burgundy were arrayed against France and Scotland. Burgundy and Spain becoming connected by marriage, the latter assumed in Burghley's eyes the place of recognized ally. The rancor of Philip II. against Protestantism, and his position at the head of Roman Catholic Powers, made him a difficult person to negotiate with, but Burghley was always looking in the direction of a *rapprochement*. Just as Richelieu in the next generation sided with the Protestant princes of Germany while putting down the Huguenots at home, so the English statesman would by preference have sided with Spain against France while repressing Romanist activity in his own island. Major Hume quotes a saying of De Beaumont, the French Ambassador in 1598, that Burghley still heads "all the old councillors of the Queen who have true English hearts; that is to say, who are enemies of the welfare and repose of France."

As usual, we have only words of commendation for Major Hume's sound learning and entertaining style. We must, however, confess to some amusement at a passage in which he strikes a balance between divine and human elements of control in mundane affairs: "How England should emerge from the welter of the old tides and the new, depended to some extent upon providential circumstances, but more largely still upon the personal characteristics of those who guided her national policy and that of her competitors." But this graceful concession to Providence of a recognized though subordinate rôle opens up questions which it is no part of our function to discuss here.

The Real Hawaii. By Lucien Young. Doubleday & McClure Co. 1899.

The Making of Hawaii. By William Fremont Blackman. Macmillan. 1899.

Hawaii Nei. By Mabel Clare Craft. San Francisco: William Doxey. 1899.

Perhaps the most innocent way of exploiting our conquests is to write books about them. Even if the books contain much that is untrue, no great harm is done, for the fate of the countries is settled; while there is a faint hope that if the truth concerning them becomes generally known, their condition may be ameliorated. Doubtless the American public has grown a little tired of Hawaii, having had the affairs of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that region thrust upon its attention for some years; but as these affairs remain unsettled, we must still welcome information, and the three books before us furnish a good deal of it. Each has its purpose—one to prove that the revolution was justified, one that present conditions are the result of evolution, and one to arouse pity for the fate of the race that once possessed the islands. All, however, include much historical matter of sufficient authenticity, and many descriptions of persons and places and travels and customs. Mr. Young is more elaborate, Mr. Blackman more philosophical, Miss Craft more imaginative; but all have written well.

Mr. Young, who is an officer in our navy, participated in the original revolution, and defends it with much show of righteous indignation. His reasons are the wickedness of the Hawaiian people and their rulers, the practical ownership of the islands by foreigners, the diabolical designs of Great Britain, and the strategical advantages of the post. He tells us that while England maintains a seeming friendship towards the United States, "it is a moral certainty that the near future will draw Great Britain and the countries of Europe, by mutuality of interest, into an antagonism to the United States." Great Britain is preparing to treat us "as her greatest foe." She has drawn a chain of hostile ports around us, and the only missing link is Hawaii. Hence Hawaii "is second in importance to no other single point on the earth's surface." Its importance "is no more a matter of opinion than is a geometrical axiom. It is a primal, incontrovertible fact." This wisdom has of course not been hidden from the Britishers, and their insidious schemes are fully exposed by Lieut. Young. It is plain enough that if we look through his glasses, our country was not safe until the American flag was hoisted over the Government offices in Honolulu.

Prof. Blackman's work is a study of social, political, and moral development, or, we might say, decadence. The natives have been, after a fashion, Christianized, and after a like fashion civilized. The result is that most of them are dead and the rest are dying. They are almost universally licentious and diseased. Their place has been taken by a mongrel population, and the hope of the region lies, according to this writer, in the immigration of Teutons, who shall eventually find the tropics as favorable for their development as the temperate zones. Meanwhile Hawaii is ruled by a slaveholding aristocracy, who fatten on the products of Asiatic bondmen. It is vain to deny that slavery has been re-established under the American flag, although probably in a mild form. Whether the relations between masters and contract laborers are better than between our planters and their slaves, is an unsettled question. Prof. Blackman takes a hopeful view of the situation, but the evidence that he presents hardly supports it. At all events, his account of the islands and their people is remarkably free from bias and is marked by sobriety of statement.

Miss Craft's contribution is in some respects more superficial than the others, her book being made up largely of letters written to American journals at the time of the revolution. Nevertheless, she has the insight that comes from living on intimate terms with the natives, and it is impossible not to share her sympathy with them. They mourn the extinction of their own government, but they are not of the stuff of which rebels are made. They have much to complain of, according to Miss Craft, whose arraignment of the missionary rulers is severe, but they are too few and too feeble to resist. A large part of her book is devoted to description of a somewhat flowery, and occasionally poetical, character—not bad of its kind. Altogether, by a perusal of these three books one may feel that he has a sufficient knowledge of the conditions, past and present, under which the history of the Hawaiian Islands has been and will be shaped.

The Social History of Flatbush. By Gertrude Lefferts Vanderbilt. D. Appleton & Co. 1899.

History of the Town of Flushing. By Henry D. Waller. Flushing: T. H. Ridenour. 1899.

From the heights of Prospect Park in Brooklyn one looks down on the hamlet of Flatbush, placed on a plain sloping gently to the ocean, and so hidden among embowering trees and shrubs that its pretty ancient name, Midwood, seems more fitting than its modern one—a corruption of two Dutch words, signifying level and forest. Midwood was one of the five little groups of farms clustered about the western point of Long Island, settled by colonists from Holland, who followed in the track of Hendrik Hudson, and chose for their home the fertile soil of Seawanhaka, opposite the Island of Manhattan. Descendants of sailors and soldiers, they left the turmoil of a struggle for life among the waves to seek new homes to be hewn out of the heart of a forest wilderness. Under the government and authority of the States-General, they bought their lands in fair bargain from peaceable Indian neighbors, and devoted themselves to diligent agriculture; the palisadoes required by law to be built around their houses being needed more for protection against small wild beasts than against savages. These five towns remained intensely Dutch, little disturbed by the streams of alien immigration mingling with the ancient stock which flowed so copiously among their neighbors of Manhattan. The author of the 'Social History' finds little to record in the short and simple annals of Flatbush except the tranquil progress of a pure domestic life, carefully nurtured by religion and common-school education. She draws with filial tenderness the picture of thrift and probity, and collects with faithful and minute detail such descriptions of the ways and lives of the inhabitants, their architecture, implements, dress, and customs, as compose a veritable museum of relics, reviving the memory of a civilization only two centuries old, yet ancient to us of this day.

About a score of miles eastward from Midwood, the town of Flushing, originally Vlissingen, was established on the north shore of Long Island in 1645, under a patent granted by Gov. Kieft of New Netherlands. In its position, its original settlement, and its varied history, Flushing presents a strong contrast to its quieter neighbor. Though the source of its title and the form of its government were derived from Holland, not a Dutch name is to be found among the original patentees, who were all English. The claim of English dominion, established over the western part of Long Island only after a war, gained validity in its eastern part by the force of events at an earlier date. The little village, when only two years old, was drawn into the dispute through a claim made by the agent of Lord Stirling, under a grant from the Plymouth Company. The agent, proclaiming himself Governor of Long Island, was promptly disposed of by Stuyvesant, who sent him as a prisoner to plead his case in Holland. The town was involved, too, in the quarrel between Connecticut and New Amsterdam over the boundary which had been settled in 1650 by an agreement, called the Hartford Treaty, which Holland ratified, though the English disregarded it, continuing their encroachments both on the mainland and among the Long Island towns. Some of these even petitioned the Hartford colony to cast over them the "Scurts of your government and protecktion." For a time, however, the quarrelling provinces agreed to exercise no authority over the Long Island towns, leaving them in an anomalous state of quasi-independence. They formed themselves into a "Combination" under the guidance of one Capt. Scott, an English adventurer. Both provinces soon set upon this unlucky chief, who was banished, and a sort of peace continued until the Dutch rule came to an end.

Among so sturdy and restless a community as that of Flushing, of course religious disturbances were likely to be as rife as political troubles were. Their first settled minister of the Gospel was Francis Doughty, the true type of an ecclesiastical adventurer, an Episcopalian silenced as a Nonconformist, who emigrated to Taunton, preached the heretical doctrine that Abraham's children ought to have been baptized, and was banished from Rhode Island. Thence he came, for liberty of conscience' sake, to Newtown, where he attempted to set himself up as a patroon, and was at last forced by Stuyvesant on the reluctant inhabitants of Flushing, among whom he remained till his church was closed for seditious preaching against the authorities, and he himself took refuge in Virginia.

The most interesting chapter in the religious history of Flushing is that which relates to the Quakers, who came first to the town in 1657. They were regarded by Stuyvesant as "a heretical and abominable sect," and severe punishment was inflicted on all who harbored them. This persecution called forth from the leading inhabitants a vigorous and noble remonstrance, followed by the arrest and imprisonment of many of its signers. Ultimately, the subject came under the cognizance of the Directors in Holland, who administered to Governor Stuyvesant that stern rebuke, famous in history, which ended for ever this single attempt at persecution known to New Amsterdam. It should be remembered, to the honor of this peculiar people, that they were the first among the colonists to confess the iniquity of slavery. The subject, first discussed at the annual meeting of Friends at Philadelphia in 1693, was considered at many of the meetings of the Flushing Quakers. An address published by one of their number, William Burling, in 1718, is one of the first productions of anti-slavery literature in this country.

Mr. Waller's volume is an unpretentious compilation of historic facts, without any attempt at teaching philosophy by example, and is enlivened by curious anecdotes and biographical sketches of several men of note

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

given by Flushing to the service of the State and nation, both before and since the Revolution. Attention is irresistibly drawn to the contrast between the annals of the Hollanders in New York and those of their kindred, the Boers, who emigrated under like auspices and about the same period to the wilds of Africa. Yielding to the course of events, the Dutch in this hemisphere blended insensibly with the conquering race, lending to the union their own peculiar virtues and qualities. The African colonists from the first resisted and to this day resist the spirit of the age. Agriculturists always, they were compelled by their position between savage enemies and civilized aggressors to become also hunters and warriors. Driven ceaselessly backward by the rising tides of commerce and conquest, they were forced by the English first westward from Cape Colony into Griqualand, thence, after stern resistance, into the region watered by the Orange River; and, at last, with obstinate resolution taking up another exodus, they trekked their long and painful way, with flocks and families, towards the heart of the continent, across the River Vaal. In the midst of this haven of rest a new danger suddenly arose. The discovery of gold inundated their chosen home with floods of alien and unquiet adventurers. True to the spirit of the age, these demand a share in the government, which would speedily grow into its control. The Boers, firm and stubborn as ever, persist in being an anachronism and an anomaly among the peoples of the earth. They stand at bay.

Through Nature to God. By John Fiske. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1899.

To watchers of the tides and currents of thought, just now setting decidedly against rationalism, the later turn of Mr. Fiske's philosophy is an interesting phenomenon, and none the less so where his argument seems insufficient. The present little volume, continuing the line of thought of the 'Idea of God,' has three disconnected parts, entitled, "The Mystery of Evil," "The Cosmic Roots of Love and Self-Sacrifice," and "The Everlasting Reality of Religion." Mr. Fiske's solution of the problem of evil is the familiar one, that evil is only relative, and that it is absurd to suppose good to exist without a correlative and reacting evil. Hardly more than a hint is afforded of how this thought is to be followed out, although it was developed at large more than a generation ago in James's 'Substance and Shadow.' In the second part, the author endeavors to show that "the cosmic process exists purely for the sake of moral ends"—quite too serious a proposition for so light a book. He has much to say of the prolonged infancy of man; but he does not attempt to refute the alleged facts that have again recently been put forth and tabulated, to show that the duration of man's infancy is related to the length of his natural life in the same way as that of all other mammals. We remark, too, the lack of any clear distinction between cerebral evolution taking place strictly by natural selection (the more cunning and, to some extent, the more good-natured individuals averaging in the long run the larger families) and intellectual development under the influence of tradition, which variations at birth can influence only so far as those individuals who are congenitally suited to accepting established customs, are likely to produce more numerous progeny than those who are congenitally ill adapted to the traditional ideals.

If a "cause," in the sense of an active body of sentiments, can be damaged by an argumentative defence that seems at first sound, but is sure at last to be found worthless, then it may be doubted whether the third part of Mr. Fiske's book is likely to do religion more good or more harm. The nature of his reasoning is sufficiently shown by the following sentences:

"Now if the relation thus established in the morning twilight of Man's existence between the Human Soul and a world invisible and immaterial, is a relation of which only the subjective term is real and the objective term is non-existent, then, I say, it is something utterly without precedent in the whole history of creation. All the analogies of Evolution, so far as we have yet been able to decipher it, are overwhelmingly against any such supposition. To suppose that, during countless ages, from the seaweed up to Man, the progress of life was achieved through adjustments to external realities, but that then the method was all at once changed, and, throughout a vast province of evolution, the end was secured through adjustments to eternal non-realities, is to do sheer violence to logic and to common sense. Or, to vary the form of statement, since every adjustment whereby any creature sustains life may be called a true step, and every maladjustment whereby life is wrecked may be called a false step; if we are asked to believe that Nature, after having, throughout the whole round of her inferior products, achieved results through the accumulation of all true steps and pitiless rejection of all false steps, suddenly changed her method and, in the case of her highest product, began achieving results through the accumulation of false steps—I say we are entitled to resent such a suggestion as an insult to our understandings. All the analogies of Nature fairly shout against the assumption."

There is much more of this. But it is mere reiteration. Every reader will see how all this heat and "shouting" contrasts with Mr. Fiske's quiet way of pushing his reasons when he *sees* their force clearly, instead of only *feeling* something, he knows not quite what. To say that "the analogies of Evolution are overwhelmingly against any such supposition" is quite the reverse of the truth. According to accepted ideas of evolution, species do not become adapted to their environment in so far as that environment enjoys abstract "reality" (if that means anything), but only in so far as that environment affects the continued propagation of the species. Correct notions about ways of getting food and the like are developed because the species would die out if they were not. But Mr. Fiske will not be able to point to a single idea which evolution has rendered true in any other sense than that it is favorable to the continuance of the species. He himself, in his second sentence above, defines a "true" step as an "adjustment whereby any creature sustains life"—which is approximately, though not accurately, a good definition for the purposes of evolutionary philosophy. But, in that sense, the development of a wholly erroneous conception of the sun or moon, or of another life, or of anything else which in some respects cannot really influence the species, may be a "true step," provided it be stimulating or tend to sustain life. If Mr. Fiske would content himself with saying that Truth, in any other sense than that of a valuable adjustment, is unattainable, if not inconceivable (as his Pragmatist friends, James and Peirce, contend), his reasoning would be considerably amended.

There are several passages in the book which remind us that Mr. Fiske is not a thorough-going evolutionist, but is a follower of Spencer, who holds that Evolution and Devolution, ceaselessly alternate under the influence of an immutable law that knows no growth, no cause, no reason; so that not evolution, but immutability, according to his account of the matter, is the general characteristic of the universe.

The Races of Europe: A Sociological Study. By William Z. Ripley, Ph.D. With Supplementary Bibliography of the Anthropology and Ethnology of Europe. Two vols. D. Appleton & Co. 1899.

Dr. Ripley's book impresses one at sight as the result of great labor and painstaking. You need not be an ethnologist to discover that the author, the artist, and the publisher have done their best. The race and type portraits are most of them in front and side-face, to enforce the text. The graphic charts and maps of cephalic index, stature, color, etc., compiled from a hundred heterogeneous sources, are brought to a common, intelligible standard. The author says that most of these are the handiwork of his wife, so we take off our hat to her for the most interesting parts of the volume, which not only illustrate the text, but brilliantly illuminate it. The bibliographic supplement is both a collection of book titles and an alphabetic list of topics, under each of which the pertinent authors are given in chronological order. The Boston Public Library, with commendable generosity, has brought the books together at Dr. Ripley's behest. Any student past fifty will miss the name of almost every author at whose feet he sat thirty years ago.

Putting aside society, language, industries, fine arts, and religions as functional only, Dr. Ripley devotes himself to the term *race*, meaning blood, as applied to Europe, insisting always that the study cannot be divorced from the environment, in the fullest meaning of that term. Races of Europe and the map of Europe—that is the text. Head-form holds the first place as a characteristic of race; after that come color in the skin, the hair, and the eyes, and stature. On this basis it is inferred that there were three races in Europe, all secondary or derivative. By race the author does not, with Deniker, mean the biological groups now peopling Europe; much less does he hold the view of Agassiz regarding fixed types. As an evolutionist he holds that races are only ideals, inseparable branches of a common stem. The three ideal, fundamental races of Europe are:

1. *Teutonic*, a variety of the Cro-Magnon man, with long head and face, light hair, blue eyes, tall stature, and narrow, aquiline nose. Also called Homo Europæus, the Nordic, Kymric, Germanic, and Reihengräber race.

(2.) *Alpine* (Celtic speech, Hallstatt culture, Asiatic affinities). With round, broad head, light chestnut hair, hazel-gray eyes, medium stature; broad and heavy nose. Also called Homo Alpinus, Lappanoid, Occidental, Aveyron, Dissentis, Sarmatian, Celto-Slavic race. Lineal descendants of the lake-dwellers.

(3.) *Mediterranean*, earliest, with long head and face, dark brown or black hair, dark eyes, medium stature and broad nose.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Also called Homo Mediterranensis, Atlanto-Mediterranean, Ibero-insular, Ligurian, Iberian race.

In France all three races occur—the Alpine in isolation, the long-headed in the open, the Teutonic latest and most energetic. Remnants of the Cro-Magnon race still survive in the Dordogne valley. The Basques are not a physical type, but have been evolved from the Mediterranean by isolation and inbreeding. The Scandinavians had no early stone age. They are one with the Lithuanians, Finns, and Teutons, having an Alpine substratum. Germany differs little from France in race, being Teuton in the north and Alpine in the south. If they only knew it, they have no need of strife. Even the withering suggestion that the Prussians are nothing but Finns, anyhow, loses its force when you know that the Finnish head is as long as the Teuton's. Italy was originally peopled by Ligurian long-heads; the present Umbrian type is an overflow of the Alpine Celt. The Etruscans came upon the Umbrians as a mixture of Alpine and Tyrrhenian.

Beyond the Pyrenees, Africa! The Spaniard is Mediterranean, allied with Africa from the earliest prehistoric period. Switzerland is the home of the broad-headed Alpine descendants of the lake-dwellers, with long heads in the highlands and the valleys. Holland is Teuton in its highways and Alpine in its byways. The British Isles have the long head as the prevailing type, but the round-barrow man was round-headed, whether Celt or not. The Russians are mixed of long-headed Teuton, Finn, and Lithuanian, Lappish Mongol-Tartar, and Slav; these last are fundamentally Alpine, and entered Russia from the southwest.

The Jews have changed head-form in the historic period; nine-tenths of them being now short-headed. They are not a race, or a language, or a nation—they are a people. The Greeks were anciently long-headed, but the author has some excellent words about their present melancholy condition between the two brachycephalic millstones. Turks are physically allied to Mongols, and are in Europe only to keep the dogs of war apart. The Magyar is one-eighth Finnic and seven-eighths Alpine. In the Caucasus the Iranian long-headed brunet is in rivalry with the Armenian short-head. Asia Minor is Mediterranean and Iranian at bottom, overlaid with Armenoid, Hittite and Turk.

A brief discussion of the later stone period and earlier iron and bronze period brings the author in his closing chapters to the serious consideration of race and environment in relation to the critical problems of modern life. Hereditary forces, both natural and selective, are allowed their just share in moulding men and manners, but, with much force, environmental pressure, both physiographic and human, is here accorded a large place in the programme. The chapters on urban selection and acclimatization cannot fail to awaken the liveliest interest just now. It is only fair to Dr. Ripley to say that he professes only to have coördinated a vast mass of material, and that he himself often balks before jumping to conclusions which the data do not now justify.

Irish Life and Character. By Michael MacDonagh. Thomas Whittaker. 1899. Pp. viii, 382.

The title of this volume is misleading. What is offered us is not a grave study of Irish life and character: it is an anthology—admirable, the best that has yet appeared—of Irish humor, repartee, and sarcasm, bulls, colloqualisms, and oddities; a collection such as might be made concerning most countries or peoples. In no country and with no people, least of all in Ireland, do such constitute the staple of life, or are they a conclusive indication of real life and character. It is a misfortune for any people not fully masters of their own destiny, when this side of their lives comes to be too much dwelt upon. "Nigger minstrelsy" has worked harm to the negro, as the Irishman of the music-halls has to Ireland. It is well for the people of India that the humorous side of their lives has not thus been exploited; it will be well for the Filipinos if theirs be not.

These considerations aside, Mr. MacDonagh has well executed his task, and his book may be taken as a standard on the subject. It would have been interesting if in footnotes or appendix he had stated the sources whence his examples were culled; and an index would have laid his readers under additional obligations. Very many of his staple pieces are old friends. One must bear in mind the extent to which the *ben trovato* prevails. The world would be a less pleasant place than it is if anecdotes, flowers of speech, and travellers' tales were passed on in the truthful nudity of their origin, as if reproduced by phonograph. We have no desire to throw the cold water of explanation or criticism over some of the author's most amusing passages. We must, however, protest against the thin end of the wedge of political controversy occasionally introduced, as where it is hinted that differences between North and South of Ireland, and between Irishmen and the rest of the world, are due principally to racial characteristics rather than to history and environment. The author's remarks on the reproduction of Irish dialect in writing are admirable, and should be taken to heart by all who purpose making incursions, verbal or written, in that field. Upon one important point we must differ, and our experience has been longer and perhaps wider than Mr. MacDonagh's—that is, the general joyousness of Irish life, and the openness of character of the average Irishman. We believe that Irish life, at least since the famine, is upon the whole more sombre than that of neighboring English-speaking peoples; and, as to openness of character, it is a myth. There is a *mauvaise honte*, a caution, even a suspicion (all the result of circumstance) in Irish intercourse, little prevalent elsewhere. The Irishman is apparently at first easier to become acquainted with and apparently open; but he guards his inner life, his thoughts, his real opinions, to a degree unknown among people who have had full control of their own fate.

Taking this book for what it really is, we can unhesitatingly recommend it.

HENRY HOLT & CO.,
29 W. 23d St., NEW YORK; 378 Wabash Av., CHICAGO

HAVE JUST PUBLISHED:

Daniels's Elements of Public Finance

Including the Monetary System of the United States. By Prof WINTHROP MORE DANIELS of Princeton. 373 pp. 12mo, $1.50 *net.*

A handy manual for general reader or student, describing the actual system in the United States, with some exposition and criticism of our monetary system. The author's standpoint is in the main conservative, favoring proportional as against progressive taxation and corporate initiative (under legal restriction) as against public ownership of most urban monopolies.

CLARENDON PRESS PUBLICATIONS.

For sale by all booksellers. Send for Catalogue.
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS,
(American Branch) 91 5th Ave., New York.

Manuscripts Promptly Examined.

Six Million Books Issued Yearly. A New Book Every Day.
F. TENNYSON NEELY, Publisher,
114 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK.

HEROES OF THE REFORMATION.
Fully illustrated. Each, 12mo, cloth, $1.50.
Nearly Ready.

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS

(1467-1536), the Humanist in the Service of the Reformation. By EPHRAIM EMERTON, Ph.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Harvard University.

Professor Emerton has laid the general public under a heavy obligation by producing a very carefully and, at the same time, brilliantly written study on the prince of the Humanists of the XVI. century. His book will prove its superiority to the other English books on Erasmus, when compared to them, by reason of its sanity and thoroughness.

PREVIOUSLY ISSUED:

Martin Luther (1483-1546), THE HERO OF THE REFORMATION. By Henry Eyster Jacobs, D.D., LL.D.

Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560), THE PROTESTANT PRECEPTOR OF GERMANY. By James William Richard, D.D.

Send for Prospectus of the Heroes of the Reformation Series.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS,
New York and London.

Maine Coast.

FOR SALE.—A compact tract of 400 acres of land in one of the most central positions on the mainland of Penobscot Bay. It has nearly four miles of bold rocky shore front, with beaches, coves, and beautiful headlands. The land runs to high elevations, and has great topographical variety; pine woodland; meadows and grassy slopes. There is a steamboat landing close by with daily service to and from Boston and the West. It is within half an hour by steamboat from Islesboro and Castine. There are several good farmhouses on the property, an ice pond, and a trout brook. Salmon are taken on the shore. The land everywhere commands broad and beautiful views of an archipelago of islands, the broad bay, distant sea, and mountains. The property is offered for sale as a whole at a low price per acre to settle a joint account. Photographs and further details may be obtained of

J. MURRAY HOWE, Trustee,
28 State Street, Boston.

The Story of Gösta Berling

By SELMA LAGERLÖF.
Translated from the Swedish by Pauline Bancroft Flach.
12mo, *cloth extra*, $1.75.
"A veritable epic."—*London Daily Telegraph.*
LITTLE, BROWN & CO., Publishers, Boston.

KINDERGARTEN SUPPLIES
at SCHERMERHORN'S, 3 East 14th St., N. Y.
Send for New Catalogue.

BOOKS, SECOND-HAND AND NEW,
Standard and Rare. Books bought. Catalogue issued. E. W. JOHNSON, 2 E. 42d St., N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN HISTORY, ECONOMICS, AND PUBLIC LAW.

EDITED BY THE

FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

VOL. X., No. 3.

Centralized Administration of Liquor Laws in the American Commonwealths.

By CLEMENT MOORE LACEY SITES, Ph.D., Sometime Fellow in Constitutional Law.
Price, paper, $1.00.

The above, bound up with HALL'S Sympathetic Strikes and Lockouts and BATES' Rhode Island and the Formation of the Union, forms Vol. X. Price, paper, $3.00; cloth, $3.50

VOL. XI.

The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in Statistics.

By ADNA FERRIN WEBER, Ph.D., Sometime University Fellow in Economics and Social Science in Columbia University, Deputy Commissioner of Labor Statistics in New York State.
Price, paper, $3.50 *net;* cloth, $4.00 *net.*

For further information apply to Prof. EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN, Columbia University.

Orders filled by THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, New York.

NEW NOVEL BY W. J. LOCKE

IDOLS

Price, $1.50.

"One of the best novels issued this year." *N. Y. World*, June 24, 1899.

JOHN LANE, 251 Fifth Avenue, New York.

God's War.

By WILSON VANCE.

"There is more real war in this war story than in any one I have read." —Murat Halstead.

Cloth, 12mo. One Dollar.

We issue over six million books yearly. Averaging more than a book a day. Manuscripts promptly examined.

F. TENNYSON NEELY, PUBLISHER, 114 Fifth Avenue, New York.

THE BLICKENSDERFER TYPEWRITERS

No. 5, $35. *No. 7, $50.*

Are Guaranteed the Best.

Ask for New Catalogue of Desks and Up-to-date Office Devices.

Blickensderfer Mfg. Co., 325 BROADWAY, N. Y.

F. W. CHRISTERN, (DYRSEN & PFEIFFER, Successors), 429 5th Ave., between 38th and 39th Sts., New York.

Importers of Foreign Books; Agents for the leading Paris Publishers; Tauchnitz's British Authors, Teubner's Greek and Latin Classics. Catalogues of stock mailed on demand. New books received from Paris and Leipzig as soon as issued.

Readers and Writers have been Waiting for this Up-to-Date, Full-of Matter, Moderate-Priced Reference Book,

THE STUDENTS' STANDARD DICTIONARY.

AN ABRIDGMENT OF

Funk & Wagnalls' Standard Dictionary

Large 8vo, 933 pages, cloth, leather back, net, $2.50; Sheep, $4.00; Indexed, 50c. additional,

Contains 60,000 Words and Phrases, and 1,225 Pictorial Illustrations.

Sent postpaid on receipt of price by

The Baker & Taylor Co., 5 and 7 East 16th St., New York.

An Elementary French Grammar.

By CHARLES P. DU CROQUET.

Author of "Français par la Conversation," "French Verbs in a Few Lessons," etc., etc.

This elementary French Grammar is practical for the young as well as for the adult student, and can easily be mastered by the latter in a comparatively short time. Reading can be commenced after Part I. has been learned.

Second Edition, revised. 12mo, cloth, 250 pages (including a complete Vocabulary). Price, 75 cents.

Complete catalogue on application. For sale by all booksellers, or postpaid on receipt of price by the publisher,

WILLIAM R. JENKINS, 851 and 853 6th Ave. (cor. 48th St.), New York.

Old Books. Choice Books, Typography, Rare Books, Quaint Books, Topography.

BOOKS ON ALL SUBJECTS. FIRST EDITIONS, ETC.

ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE, pronounced to be the most original and interesting list issued, 364 pages, 8vo, with 370 Reproductions of Plates, Portraits, and Title-pages, *post free*, 6s. (which sum is deducted from the first purchase of 30s.).

PICKERING & CHATTO, Antiquarian Booksellers, 66 Haymarket, St. James, London, S. W.

BOOKS AT LIBERAL DISCOUNTS. When calling please ask for MR. GRANT. Whenever you need a Book, address MR. GRANT.

Before buying books write for quotations. An assortment of catalogues and special slips of books at reduced prices sent for 10 cent stamp.

F. E. GRANT, Books.
23 W. 42D ST., - - - NEW YORK.
(Mention this advertisement and receive a discount.)

BOOKS.—All Out-of-print Books supplied, no matter on what subject. Acknowledged the world over as the most expert bookfinders extant. Please state wants. BAKER'S GREAT BOOKSHOP, 14-16 John Bright Street Birmingham, England.

A Handsome Gobelin

is no doubt the *ne plus ultra* of the weaver's art, yet our beautiful, stylish and always useful **Augusta-Victoria Empress Shoulder-Shawls** are certainly also exquisitely handwoven (about 40 inches square, with 6 inch fringe) by expert Saxon weavers at Bethlehem. Colors white, light green, pink, distingué red, and black. When ordering kindly remember to mention color desired.

Sent postpaid and registered on receipt of $7.50.

THE SUSACUAC WEAVING CO., BETHLEHEM, PA.

Travel.

GOING ABROAD ON A BICYCLE TRIP? Send for "Bicycling Notes for Tourists Abroad," 10 cents in stamps. The fine new steamers of the

LEYLAND LINE
Sail every Wednesday.
BOSTON TO LIVERPOOL.

First cabin, winter, $37.50 and up. Splendid new steamer Winifredian, 10,500 tons, 570 feet in length, now in service.

F. O. HOUGHTON & CO., General Agents, 115 State Street, Boston.

DRESDEN, GERMANY.
Pension Kretzschmer-Schadewell.

Fräulein Schadewell, proprietress of Pension Kretzschmer, removes in September to 4 Lindenau-Platz. New house, conveniently situated, with southern exposure. Equipped with modern appointments; lift. Address until September, 15 Räcknitz-Strasse.

PARIS in 1900.

A word to the wise. Make sure of steamship and hotel accommodations *now*, at fair rates, in personally conducted parties. THE CRAWFORD TOURS, Home Office 610 Tremont Building, Boston; 220 Broadway, New York; 1011 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

EUROPEAN TRAVEL.

THE MISSES WELDON, with their 9th Annual Class. Young Ladies' Foreign Tour. Restricted; highest references. Address THE MOORINGS, LOCK HAVEN, Pa.

Summer Resorts.

EUROPEAN SUMMER RESORT,
INNSBRUCK, TYROL, AUSTRIA.
1,900 feet above the sea, with dry, bracing climate.
HOTEL TIROL.

Open all the year. Modern conveniences. Best references. Illustrated pamphlets on application.
CARL LANDSEE, Proprietor.

SWITZERLAND LAUSANNE. HOTEL RICHE-MONT.

First-class hotel with moderate tariff. Large gardens. Magnificent view over the lake and mountains. Lift, baths, electric light in every room. Patronized by American families. In winter very reduced pension terms. Tariff and pamphlets sent free on application.

COOPERSTOWN—"OTSEGO HALL," small hotel near the lake. Well kept; choice table; good boating and fishing: 2 golf courses. Now open.

LETTERS OF CREDIT. We buy and sell bills of exchange to and make Cable Transfers of money on Europe, Australia, and South Africa; also make collections and issue Commercial and Travellers' Credits, available in all parts of the world.

BROWN BROTHERS & CO., NO. 59 WALL STREET, NEW YORK.

Study and Practice of French in School
IN THREE PARTS.
By L. C. Boname, 258 South 16th St., Philadelphia

A carefully graded course, meeting requirements for entrance examination at college. Practice in conversation and thorough drill in Pronunciation and Grammar. From *Education*, Boston: "A well-made series. Teachers and pupils will find the three books helpful and interesting."

HAY FEVER GOMENOL IS NATURE'S REMEDY.

A French discovery, recommended by eminent physicians. Its action is to heal the inflamed membrane and restore the respiratory passages to perfect health. Dry-air inhalation. Inhaler inconspicuous. Bottle with glass dropper-stopper. Through druggists, or by mail, prepaid, one dollar. Full information gladly sent.

Bard Chemical Co. 85 Franklin Street. 765 Fifth Ave., New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED